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Sermons That Shaped the Pulpit Tradition

Edited with an Introduction by
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To My Students
at Duke University
1937–1947

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PREFACE

DURING an extended period of teaching, my attention has been drawn, repeatedly, to a significant lacuna in the field of historical-theological interpretation. Not since 1856 has there been issued in English translation, for any considerable period, the sermonic literature of the pre-Reformation Church. Yet the most advanced researches in historical and theological areas, alike, prove how inadequate any appreciation of Christian civilization must be which overlooks the impact of preaching upon Western culture.

Supporting these observations have been other teachers in such apparently diverse but actually juxtaposed fields as homiletics, patristics, medieval life and institutions, ancient and medieval languages and literatures, historical and systematic theology, and Christian thought. Many of these have deplored the cultural impoverishment and distortion of Christian perspective which the lack of readily available primary materials has involved for undergraduate, graduate, and professional students. An enlarging number of clergy have also expressed their regret that no representative, yet compact, body of homiletic sources has been available for the study of this crucial period. They, together with the academic world, recognize increasingly the significance of early and medieval conceptions in the molding of present-day reactions.

About three years ago I was invited by Dr. Francis P. Jones to serve as American editor in preparing *An Anthology of Patristic and Medieval Sermons* for translation into Chinese, together with other volumes of Christian classics — this under the auspices of Nanking Theological Seminary and the Foreign Mission Boards of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches. In the course of that work my own interest in a homiletic source book, already great, was further heightened. The encouragement offered me by President Henry P. Van Dusen and Professor John T. McNeill, both of Union Theological Seminary, together with Chancellor B. Harvie Branscomb, of

Vanderbilt University, President Umphrey Lee, of Southern Methodist University, and numerous other scholars made me hopeful of providing such a volume for the predominantly English-reading public. This hope became a reality with the proffer of publication by The Westminster Press.

In compiling this work I have placed major emphasis on a readable, trustworthy text rather than upon research minutiae or primarily reference qualities. Documentation has been kept to an absolute minimum with an annotated bibliography of carefully selected, scholarly works supplying some of the deficiencies necessarily involved in such a procedure. The immediate serviceability of such a work for theological and other students on the various academic levels, and for the informed ministry will, I believe, not seriously impair its usefulness for the professional scholar.

It has been found wholly impracticable to render all Scriptural quotations in the translation of a uniform version. This decision has been necessitated by the practices, often erratic in themselves, of so cosmopolitan a group of homilists, and the cardinal right of translators, both early and modern, to bring Scriptural passages into fitting accord with the procedures and technical resources of given preachers across the centuries. Translations, both ancient and modern, have therefore been allowed to stand with the form of Biblical quotation best suited to the prevailing circumstances. As a result, few if any passages remain in the exact language of an established version and no body of Scriptural materials is incorporated in other than a copyright-free translation. Any violation of such rights is here, as anywhere else in the volume, not the product of intention, but an oversight to be gladly remedied. Biblical references which differ in the numbering of the Authorized and Revised Versions, on the one hand, from that of the Rheims-Douay, on the other, are cited first according to the former and again as in the latter.

Among the numerous scholars who have rendered invaluable aid and counsel are the following to whom special thanks are due: Dr. Paul L. Lehmann, of The Westminster Press and Princeton Theological Seminary, for many editorial services and the revision of the introduction; Dean Willard L. Sperry and Professor Henry J. Cadbury, of Harvard Divinity School, for suggestions on Biblical and theological problems; and Professor Roy Battenhouse, of Episcopal

Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, for numerous suggestions on selection, arrangement, and editorial resources. From Wellesley College I wish to thank Professor E. Faye Wilson for manifold courtesies as well as for painstaking scrutiny of translations and helpful counsel on varied matters of historical scholarship; Professors Charlotte E. Goodfellow and Gabriella Bosano for constructive criticism of materials translated from the Latin and Italian; Professor Louise P. Smith for translations and revisions from the Latin as well as for invaluable advice on Biblical and theological data; Professor Marie L. Edel for a translation from the Middle English. From Harvard University I am deeply indebted to Professor Robert J. Clements for repeated courtesies, scholarly assistance, and constructive criticism of materials translated from fifteenth-century French.

I wish to recognize Miss Dorothy Ann Freeman and Miss Caroline Warner, students of Wellesley College, for translations from the Latin; Miss Gertrude Marie Puccia, also a student of Wellesley, for a translation from the Italian; and Mr. Anthony A. Giarraputo, of Harvard College, for a translation from late medieval French. All of these have supplied translations of independent worth recognized at appropriate junctures throughout this volume.

My thanks are due, furthermore, to the Duke University Research Council for its administration of funds supplied conjointly with the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching; to the librarians and library staffs of Duke University, Duke University Divinity School, Widener Library of Harvard University, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Episcopal Theological School, Union Theological Seminary, Wellesley College, the Library of Congress, and Columbia University.

For stenographic services I am greatly indebted to Mrs. Hollis Huston. I express deepest appreciation to my wife, Ruth Mertz Petry, for criticizing the manuscript and reading the proofs, and to my niece, Miss Joanne Mertz, for assisting in the final preparation of the manuscript for the printer.

R. C. P.

Widener Library,
Harvard University,
June 1, 1947.

INTRODUCTION

THIS anthology is a selection of representative sermons designed to enrich the total picture of Christian life in the West from the early third century to the Reformation. Sermonic materials constitute a rewarding and almost untouched resource for the study of every kind and degree of Western life. Unfortunately, authorities on Christian life and institutions have largely neglected these materials or at least provided almost no firsthand acquaintance with them. Yet the character of the Christian West is laid bare in the revealing sermons of Christian preachers such as the well-known Bernard of Clairvaux and the far less famous, but equally devoted, Raoul Ardent. Raoul's excoriation of unworthy ministers of the Gospel; his call for Scriptural preaching; his repudiation of mere fabulists; his emphasis on preaching the Scriptures as the preparation for the final great judgment of all mankind; above all, his flaming, consecrated zeal tell at least as much of European Christianity as the history of Abelard's misadventures or the vision of Piers the Plowman. The life of great and small, often unconsciously depicted in such sermons, is the common life of Western Christianity.

There is no significant preaching in the postapostolic period until the third century. The period of major patristic significance is from the third through the sixth century. Here we encounter the Scriptural and theological innovations of Origen, the social sensitivity of Chrysostom, the catholicizing gospel of Augustine, and the traditional sweep of the first Gregory.

With the coming of the six hundreds and on into the eleventh century, there is current an age of sermonic sterility and uninspired preaching, in spite of certain noticeable exceptions. The work of Bede, Maurus, and others like them is largely a diminished copy of Chrysostom, Augustine, and Gregory I; although in them, as in the Blickling homilies and in Aelfric, for instance, there are certain distinctive traits easily discernible. Both sermons and sermon manuals exhibit almost slavish dependence on the great leaders of patristic homily.

Bourgain sees in the eleventh century some signs of a recovery. Any fair-minded critic must acknowledge the basic contribution of a great reform spirit like Peter Damian, the edifying power of Anselm, and the wholesome appeal of Ivo of Chartres. With the twelfth century, a period of many distinguished preachers was definitely ushered in. A roll of names including Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter of Blois, and Innocent III cannot easily be ignored. Yet these men, distinguished in their own right, are probably not yet symptomatic of any great homiletic renaissance or a sufficiently widespread preaching mission. The twelfth century was characterized by renewed appeals to the Episcopacy to perform its preaching responsibility and to authorize the services of others properly prepared. Councils and synods were also clearly disturbed over the preaching need which so far surpassed the preaching resources available to meet that challenge. Preaching, still generally supplied by Episcopal and monastic leaders, was all too far removed from parish needs and everyday spiritual demands.

The thirteenth century, however, was certainly the age of genuine preaching revival. Loyal Churchmen in councils like that of the Fourth Lateran in 1215, and in the West with increasing unanimity, recognized the sure signs of unchecked decadence and the need of both intensified effort and better homiletic form suited to the new times. The thirteenth century was the age of continuing heresies and their challenge to the Church. It witnessed the last upswing of carefully planned papal crusading. And out of it came the reform program of the more conscientious bishops. Indeed, reform was the more urgent in view of the impact of emerging towns upon the economy of feudalism and the rise of new schools, forerunners of the universities.

The Mendicants appeared as the most significant response to the current need. Franciscans and Dominicans represent a new stage in preaching mobility, universality, and affinity with people's joys and woes. Mendicant innovations in preaching came not so much in relation to an isolated art of rhetoric as in answer to the mounting pressures of faith, heresy, inquisition, the university curriculum, and the poignant appeals of the world's little people. The friars also came into roving proximity to parish Churches and monastic communities long undisturbed. Largely owing to the Mendicants, the thirteenth century witnessed a renaissance of popular sermon illustrations as well as a creative reinvigoration of liturgy, together with preaching forms lending themselves to the discussion of politics, economics, and social life at large.

It was an age of real issues in which some aspects of the problems then provoking university debate were often wrestled with by a semiliterate or ignorant cleric who had never been to the schools himself; but who felt, nonetheless, the inevitable impress of their discussions upon him and his people. It must not be forgotten that the Church's increasing organizational demands and its ever-growing canonical requirements filtered down to the little priest and the little people, however humble they might be.

The Mendicants were the best trained and the greatest public preachers in the days of their prime. But in the time of their decline they were the most adept in victimizing the common people. The animadversions of Wyclif on fourteenth-century Minors, as well as his implied appreciation of quite different Franciscans in earlier eras, are quite well known. Indeed, Wyclif, the inescapable critic of the Franciscans, was the reincarnation of much of their idealism. There is a new Biblical emphasis in Wyclif, which may be traced through the Franciscans to an apostolic urgency; so that his best corrective for Franciscan decadence was just such a note of far-flung evangelism as Francis had struck in his peripatetic followers.

The development of the preaching function was accompanied by the gradual emergence of preaching manuals.

Origen was one of the first to deal, though not formally, with the principles and problems of the preaching art. He believed in utilizing non-Christian rhetorical principles for Christian ends. These he coupled with vigorous insistence on the high character of the preacher. He stressed study as an indispensable means of securing the divine message and made much of historical, moral, and allegorical interpretations of Scripture. Origen's influence on succeeding interpretations of Scripture cannot easily be overemphasized. Another patristic leader who left no well-wrought discussion of homiletic theory, but who deeply influenced some of those who did, was Gregory Nazianzen. His *Flight to Pontus* was mainly a work on pastoral responsibility, rather than a sermon manual. Certain sections in it, however, not only inspired devoted and common-sense attention to the preacher's art, but also gave rise to famous and often retold stories concerning the preacher's temptation to adopt the tricks of the professional orator. Chrysostom, in his similar discussion *On the Priesthood* also addressed himself, though briefly, to sermonic form and content. Especially fruitful suggestions are to be found in books four and five in which he stresses the value of hard study and the necessity of preaching to please God rather than men.

Augustine was to exercise an almost unique influence in this area. The secret of it is, perhaps, best evident from his work *On Christian Doctrine.* Here, as in other discussions of the patristic period, the Christian rather than the non-Christian audience was kept especially in mind. The first three books are given over to the problems of Scriptural exegesis. Book four examines the possibilities of interpreting the Scriptures through the rhetorical art. Augustine particularly stresses the sense and degree in which the Christian teaching of the Scriptures involves the preaching function. He calls attention to the irony of leaving rhetorical aids to be cultivated by the non-Christian when they may well make a real contribution to the cause of Christ and lodges a cogent plea for teacher-preacher refutation of error and the propagation of truth in terms of different hearers and occasions. Preachers are responsible to arouse, instruct, and move people to wholesome action. Preaching content is to be balanced and made even more effective through the proper utilization of form, style, and delivery. Clarity and flavor are indispensable if hearers are to be edified. Preaching is never successful unless the hearer, once properly disposed through good instruction, and captivated in interest, is also impelled from within to an active commitment of life. Both floridity of style and unrelieved severity are to be avoided. And above all things prayer must precede delivery of the message, which must proceed from God himself if it is to edify at all. Augustine's never-ending refrain trumpets the impossibility of succeeding through external eloquence when the failure of positive Christian living is in evidence.

With a few exceptions, from the fifth to the twelfth century there is no outstandingly careful exposition of the theory of preaching.

But during the next two centuries, sermon manuals undergo a decided change. The transition to the sermon of organized form, with its integral attachment to the new disciplines of the schools, is definitely reflected in the sermon books. It is these, of course, that are designed to help to produce the more systematically constructed, scholastically oriented sermons. The preaching aid of Peter Cantor, for example, compares instruction to a building in which reading constitutes the foundations, disputation makes up the walls, but preaching — ranking above both of these — seeks to protect the faithful against every evil.

Guibert de Nogent is often remembered for the famous passages in his autobiography regarding his own education and that of his age. Less known is his writing in the field of Christian rhetoric. By no means a formal manual, *A Treatise on the Method of Preparing a Sermon* is rather a preface to De Nogent's commentary on Genesis and, as such, it is properly concerned with methods of Scriptural interpretation. In addition, however, it gives much useful instruction in homiletic procedure. He treats, especially, the responsibility for preaching and the fate of those who refuse, thus, to help to save sinners. Their purported reasons for not preaching, or for preaching badly, are, to him, no better then poor excuses. Learning and teaching Holy Writ are here made the first objectives. Prayer is, of course, to precede the sermon. Prolixity in speaking is to be avoided at all costs. The unlearned are to be edified and illumined; the educated must be roused to greater thoughtfulness and aspiration. Scriptural interpretation involves the historical, allegorical, tropological (or moral) and anagogical (or spiritual) methods. The moral application is found to be especially useful in fostering Christian experience. The preacher must warn against vices and preach the virtues with the aid of his own example. He must also give proof of high homiletic artistry. The suffering on earth and the fear of hell, together with the anticipated rewards of the hereafter, are to be stressed as incentives to a better life in the present.

Alain de Lille's *Summary of the Preaching Art* is sometimes called the most important work on homiletical theory since Augustine. Reminiscent of Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory the Great, and Chrysostom, the work is particularly noteworthy as depicting the passage from the nonscholastic to the scholastic age of sermonic theory and practice. Preaching is defined as " open and public instruction in morals and faith, promoting the information of men, and proceeding from the path of reason and the fountain of authorities." This is explained in such fashion as to place the accent upon edification and the common needs of Christian men. Preaching is based, first of all, on the authority of Scripture, especially that of the Gospels and the Epistles. Preachers are required to make an unselfish proclamation of God's word for the sake of human salvation. As usual, audiences composed of the faithful rather than non-Christian groupings are under consideration. But model sketches and outlines are given in detail and various types of audiences and the approaches best suited to each of the many kinds of hearers are exemplified.

The net objectives of twelfth-century preaching theory may be said in summary to be the stressing of definition and purpose with precision; dispensing of moral and religious instruction in keeping with irreproachable ministerial character; having regard for the varied needs of widely differing individuals and groups; interpreting the Scriptures with at least some flexibility of method and due regard to illustrative appeal; developing the message in harmony with the dignity and restraint expected of God's mouthpiece; and avoiding at all times the pitfalls of self-centeredness.

As already observed, the enlarging ministry of preaching was considerably met by the services of Dominicans and Franciscans. With a revitalization born largely from the newly developed halls of Paris and Oxford, and other like schools, these mendicant brethren proceeded not only to preach as few men had preached before them, but also to systematize the rules governing the expression of ideas that were at once academic and popular. Their response to this task spelled the rise of an unusually fruitful library on the art of sermon preparation and delivery.

The Thomas Aquinas (*Pseudo*) *Tractate*, translated by Caplan,[1] may profitably be outlined as a fair indication of the subjects discussed in medieval sermon books. In addition to the mastery of materials which comprise the content of preaching art and method are also enjoined. Gregory's *Pastoral Rule* and Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine*, as well as Cicero, are cited to this end.

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[1] Published in *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking*. The Century Co., 1925. Pp. 61–90.

Preaching is defined, almost exactly in Alain's word, as " open and public instruction in faith and morals, devoted to the informing of men, and proceeding from the path of convictions and from the source of authorities. It will be open preaching, since, if it were secret, it would be subject to suspicion and would seem to let loose heretical dogmas. It will be public, because it is to be set before the many, not one individual. If it were set before the one, it would properly be, not preaching, but doctrine. In this way preaching is instruction in faith and morals." [1] Every sermon has a principal and an instrumental cause. The prayer of the preacher is made to the Lord of Glory, who is the principal cause. The preacher is the instrumental cause, when his tongue is put at the disposal of the Lord. The author of this manual is interested not only in the principles of action with their many applications, but also in the artistic presentation which helps to make the sermon more effective. Methodology, involving physical gestures as well, must be taken into account.

The writer now proceeds to the discussion of the sermon as such. The theme is properly the beginning. It must be taken from the Bible, be clear and of the proper length, and be well expressed. The four parts of a sermon, as the anonymous author describes them, are: (1) theme; (2) protheme or prelocution; (3) division or distinction; (4) subdivision or subdistinctions. These are all illustrated and discussed in detail.

Farsighted preachers are to be careful when in their pulpits. There must be proper reverence for the Lord Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, his mother. The name of God, Christ, or the Virgin must never be mentioned without suitable adjectives. Conducting oneself frivolously or presumptuously is shameful. Raising doubts or questions without resolving them is unthinkable. Care must be taken to end a phrase as vigorously as one begins it. Speaking complete words, intelligently and slowly, is to be commended. Each should conduct himself with gravity as being truly in the presence of Christ. Undue haste is to be avoided in thought and delivery. Let the preacher exercise restraint in looking about. It is best to avoid specific allusions to given personalities in matters involving severe correction. Verbosity is to be avoided always. Undue literalness in translating or paraphrasing the Latin for vernacular purposes is most unfortunate. The preacher is never to forget that the Word of God provides the means of the hearer's coming into Christ's Kingdom. In this way Christ instructs us. Hence, knowing his will for our salvation is to be followed by our doing it. " Therefore let us in deed fulfil what we are shown we must do and emulate." [1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 73.

This is the end of the tractate proper, to which there is appended a partial form of the " preaching tree." " Preaching is like a real tree. As a real tree develops from root to trunk, and the trunk grows into main branches, and the main branches multiply into other branches, so in preaching the theme develops into the protheme or prelocution as root into trunk. Then the prelocution or protheme grows into the principal divisions of the theme as the trunk into the main branches. And the principal branches should . . . multiply into secondary divisions, that is, subdivisions and subdistinctions, and finally expand as the example in the tree below shows. Its theme is divided into three parts; each part is divided into three members; each member can be amplified by several of the nine methods above described, as will stand out more clearly on the tree below." [2]

Modern homiletic procedure seems to have little, if anything, superior to these medieval sermon manuals.

The fact that most sermons have come down to us in Latin proves neither that these were, in every case, delivered in that tongue; nor, for that matter, that they were developed after the exact pattern of their final transmission to us. There is every evidence that Thomas Aquinas and, more especially, Anthony of Padua put real life into the turgid outlines that now, alone, are left. The popular sermons of Anthony, as well as the vernacular sermons of Bernardine of Siena, are happily commented upon in contemporary literature and, as regards Bernardine, preserved to us in a large collection. True as it probably is that most of the preaching from the sixth to the thirteenth century was to people in religious houses and, therefore, most likely given in the Latin, it is equally true that to some extent even in this period, and from the thirteenth century on, in an increasing degree, some homiletic appeal was made to the unlettered faithful as well as to the heretic and pagan. This was surely not exclusively in the language of the Church or according to the formulations of the schools, however much the scholastic stamp once imparted to a preacher would continue to leave some imprint on his popular ministry.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 88. The original document illustrated the " tree."

One may safely generalize to the extent of saying that many sermons were delivered in the vernacular by educated men to uncultivated people. In some cases, written as well as preached, in the language of the people, these sermons were, in the main, not preserved to posterity in other than a Latin form. Perhaps the preacher spoke from a Latin outline in the language of the region and then recorded his sermon in an expanded manuscript of scholastic language and character. Or, he may have improvised in the vernacular and then written out his message more carefully in the same language in which it was spoken. It is quite reasonable to suppose that Bernard of Clairvaux left a considerable body of French sermons just as Gerson did much later. In both instances it seems likely that the people's language was deemed an unworthy medium by later editors who promptly translated them into the language of scholars. At least there is virtually no unchallenged French sermon of Bernard remaining to us and all too few of the versatile Gerson, who, like Bernard, was preacher to all kinds of the common people as well as to priests, monks, university gatherings, kings, and councils.

From the apostolic age to the twelfth century, the prevailing homily type was an informal discourse employing a doctrinal interpretation of Scripture without necessary introduction or divisions. Not infrequently, the Biblical passage incorporated in the liturgy for a particular day of the Christian year was used. The expositions might proceed according to a sentence-by-sentence treatment of the text, or by discussing an entire Gospel, or as an exhortation devoted to a single idea, perhaps a paraphrase of certain vices or virtues. Origen, Gregory, Bede, as well as the missionary preaching of Boniface, offer conspicuous instances of this kind of preaching.

Beginning in the twelfth century, on the other hand, and reaching its apogee in the thirteenth century, the characteristic preaching form was as definitely organic as that of the preceding times had been inorganic. In it, sermons, properly called, predominated over, though they did not entirely replace, the homily as such. In these sermons the Gospel was expounded according to a far more systematic method, with divisions and developments of a frequently intricate kind. Preachers such as Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, and Thomas Aquinas lead out in the treatment of this form.

The danger of stereotypes issuing from scholastic forms with their subtleties and multiple divisions is not hard to see. Yet the most exaggerated defects inherent in such types appeared in Latin sermons delivered only to the educated; and in some cases, at least, the scholastic or artistic *sermo* was essentially a preparatory Latin sketch "to be clothed at actual delivery into the language of the people." Indeed, authorities on the history of preaching point out that by the side of the scholastic type there existed unto the end of the Middle Ages the "Sermon to the People." This Biblical or purely exegetical form of preaching never went entirely out of style.

Even the contention that the scholastic sermon *per se* was never properly delivered except to a school or university audience does not preclude the verifiable implication that the influences of the scholastic sermon were felt also in popular circles. The Mendicants, as we have said, adapted seemingly inflexible forms in a most resilient fashion to the cosmopolitan as well as the pastoral groups to which they ministered. It is not strange, therefore, that the great majority of sermons delivered within the ordinary domain of the pulpit, as the preachers in this anthology will show, should be devoted to the feasts of our Lord and the principal feasts of the saints.

In spite of many differences in content and structure, the common basis of patristic and medieval sermons is in the Scriptures. The Bible is unquestionably central in Origen, Chrysostom, and Augustine. And even in the period of homiletic decadence from the sixth to the twelfth century, one observes a large degree of dependence on the earlier patristics for Biblical usage as in practically all else.

There are those who say that medieval preaching was devoid of any genuinely Scriptural quality. Such generalizations are as distorted as those which make Bernard of Clairvaux's Bible mastery or Gerson's Scriptural concern in any sense typical. One must keep constantly in mind the ends sought and the methods employed by medieval Bible preaching. The very real virtues and marked limitations of medieval Bible usage among preachers is put into perspective by researches in manuscripts and printed works like those of Deanesly and Smalley.

Miss Deanesly's researches are convincing both as to the existence of Bible sermonizing in the Middle Ages and the limitations of its character and amount. She readily admits that there was considerable use of the Bible on the part of medieval preachers. She believes, however, that this was largely concentrated in the hands of a relatively few university graduates and scholars. Where used by others, the Bible as preached was largely drawn from and interpreted by homiliaries, preaching manuals, and the like. Wyclif was particularly stern in his denunciation of such secondhand utilization of God's law. There was almost no use of translated Bible materials by great scholar-preachers before Wyclif. What bishops and priests insisted upon from the early Middle Ages to the Reformation was the teaching of the faith rather than the expounding of the Bible.

Nevertheless, Miss Deanesly does not neglect the demand for more Bible use by such great reforming bishops of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as Grosseteste, Peckham, Quivil, and Thoresby, just as she indicates the Bible translations before Wyclif which may be cited. As to the passionate concern of Grosseteste for Bible preaching, she says: " He also stated frequently in ordination sermons that the cause of the evil condition of the Church was the failure of the clergy to preach the gospel of Christ." [1] She quotes him directly to the effect that though " ' the instruction of his flock was the first duty of a parish priest,' " yet " ' to-day there are many pastors, bound to feed their hungry flock with the Word of God, who have no food to do it with: for there are many who do not know how to explain to the people a single article of the faith, or commandment of the decalogue.' " [2] Grosseteste's own Episcopal constitutions show his concern that the Commandments be taught together with the fundamentals of Christian piety.

Archbishop Peckham, in his letter describing the chief abuses with which the Church of his day was afflicted, describes the sixth of these as involving small esteem for the contents of the Gospels: " ' For according to the doctrine of saints, a bishop's office consists chiefly in the doctrine of the Word of God, whence the episcopal order is called by the holy Fathers, the " order of preachers ": yet in celebrating elections or conferring dignities, no mention is made of the office of preaching; and since in this respect no question is asked as to what the gospels say, but as to what the common gloss clamoureth, the commandments of God are made of none effect for the traditions of men. Hence the study of wisdom is everywhere forsaken, and all men run after those branches of knowledge which bring worldly reward.' ".[1] In his constitutions of 1281 Peckham sought to forestall that ignorance of priests and clerks conducing to the errors of the faithful with the command " 'that each parish priest, four times in the year (that is, once in each quarter of the year), upon one or more holy days shall himself or by his deputy explain to the people in the vulgar tongue . . . the fourteen articles of the faith, the ten commandments of the decalogue, the two precepts of the gospel, the seven works of mercy, the seven mortal sins, the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacramental graces.' "[2] And he followed this with a Latin exposition and summary of the principles to be inculcated. Similar to this development was Bishop Quivil of Exeter's program of 1287 which he enforced with specific requirements for observance and penalties for infraction.

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[1] *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions,* by M. Deanesly. Cambridge University Press, 1920. Pp. 195, 196.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

Nevertheless, the most representative Latin and English manuals do not, in any precise fashion at least, impose on the parish priest the duty of teaching his parishioners from the Bible itself. The parish clergy seem, generally, to have conceived it as their proper function to administer the sacraments, instruct in the faith, and inculcate the virtues. There is little evidence that they felt impelled to go beyond this to the immediate study of the Latin Biblical texts for themselves or to the incitement, through the translation of Scriptural portions in their sermons, of Bible study on the part of their people. The evidence, in truth, shows pre-Wyclifite Bible reading by lay people to have been negligible. A survey of educational resources, including instruction books for educated laity, indicates that "well-born lay people who could read were thus almost as dependent as the illiterate upon services, plays, and the coloured windows and carvings of churches, for their actual knowledge of the Bible."[3]

The massive contribution of Wyclif and his Lollard followers in recommending the practice of Bible preaching and in helping "God-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 209.

dis Lawe" to become a reality in popular reading cannot be overestimated. Wyclif's writings show in what large degree he returned to Biblical habits resembling those of the patristic period and in what sense his edifying Bible usage was both similar and unlike that of Raoul Ardent, Bernard of Clairvaux, Guarric of Igniac, Gerson, and others of a genuinely Biblical persuasion.

In his book *On the Truth of the Holy Scriptures* Wyclif declares that Scripture as a whole, as well as the various parts of it, witnesses to the one great truth, regardless of the different senses according to which it may be interpreted. Christ's law is far superior to any tradition that the Church can set forth. All Christians, particularly priests and bishops, are required to study the Holy Scriptures. It is on these that the salvation of the faithful wholly depends. Therefore, the first duty of bishop and priest is to preach the Gospel. And the whole dignity that pertains to such officials comes from their performing this duty of Scriptural proclamation — not from any reputation or worldly power. Origen, among others, is cited to this end.

Wyclif is exercised to prove that the preaching of God's Word is a holier work than the celebration of the Eucharist. Whatever the theory generally expounded, the prevailing practice of the Middle Ages runs counter to this assertion. It is interesting to observe that Bernardine of Siena, in one of his sermons, presents a not too dissimilar viewpoint. It is imperative for the priest to preach the Holy Gospel. This is another of the endlessly recurring admonitions to the curate to do his duty, which in this case is like that of the bishop; namely, the preaching of the Gospel unto soul salvation. Wyclif is not afraid to state quite flatly that reading Holy Scripture renders superfluous the Missal, Antiphonary, Psalterium, and other liturgical books. Knowing the Credo and the Lord's Prayer by no means makes up for the lack of Gospel preaching. Wyclif realizes all too well that his position is diametrically opposed to the existing practice. Yet this fiery, medieval preacher of reform stands by his contention that only a sermon in the mother tongue of a people is truly edifying.

The story is the same when one consults the English as well as the Latin sermons of Wyclif. Almost no emphasis is more prevailing than the stress laid upon the necessity of preaching by a good pastor.

That this function is not, and was never intended to be, limited to the bishop is one of Wyclif's most vigorously pressed asseverations. His themes, texts, and treatments are almost one continuous diapason on the primacy of God's law. Next to a just life itself, nothing that a pastor can do is more important than this same proclamation of the Gospel. It definitely transcends the significance claimed for the sacraments. Furthermore, Wyclif defends his convictions with quotations drawn from such great pulpit orators as Chrysostom, Augustine, Gregory I, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Grosseteste. The whole meaning of the Church and its prosecution of the Kingdom task are summed up for Wyclif in terms of serving the Gospel Word. He believes that nothing is clearer in the early Church Fathers than their insistence upon Gospel preaching as constituting the high road to the love of God and the path to service of fellow men. One can hardly read John Wyclif in intimate association with other medieval sermon makers without observing the degree and extent of the priority which he gives to the Scriptures as compared with his contemporaries' own limited emphasis. Furthermore, as none before him, he makes expanding use of translated Scriptures in representative sermons even as he inspires his followers to the production of a truly vernacular Bible.

Wyclif's reaction to the preaching of the Church, generally, and to that of the Franciscans, especially, is seldom balanced or fair. He is customarily anticipating actions on the part of the Minor Brethren and the hierarchy that do no credit to them. Consequently, he is in no position to observe the real contributions that they make, not only to popular ministry but to Biblical orientation as well. If their preaching methods lend themselves to excessive storytelling, his own Gospel interpretation is all too literal and inflexible on many occasions. Nonetheless, his total contribution to Biblical preaching in the Middle Ages stands out in bold relief. And its sweeping evangelical admonitions are undeniable.

It is interesting to note that among those who came after him, not only the Lollards with their understandably large emphasis on the Scriptures, but also such great conciliarists as Gerson and D'Ailly, as well as popular Franciscans of later generations like Bernardine of Siena, gave large place to the Gospel Word. The fiery English evangelist was perhaps no more dedicated in his stressing of the

Scriptures than was Bernardine on the one hand, and Nicholas of Cusa on the other. It is a truism to remark that Savonarola's whole proclamation was centered in Biblical preaching. In practically all of these, however, preaching of the Gospel is subordinated to primarily liturgical ends as that of Wyclif never was.

In the ministry of the patristics, and in that of the Middle Ages, the plan of redemption constitutes the main subject of good preaching. The Gospel of Jesus continues to be presented as the good news of God's coming Kingdom. Increasingly, the Church is considered under the aspect of an institution founded by the Master and committed by him to his vicar, Peter. To this apostle and his successors, the way to the Kingdom is pointed out, and the food of the Kingdom is entrusted. They, as a true priesthood, have the keys of heaven and distribute the bread of everlasting life. They have, therefore, both the duty to dispense sacramental graces and the obligation to proclaim these as the sole way of salvation. Liturgy and preaching are inevitably joined.

Preaching calls on Christian men and women to pursue in the present world, with the saving and sustaining power dispensed in the Church's liturgy, the way of private and social virtue that leads to the Kingdom of Heaven. In the liturgy of the Mass, the lessons from the Old Testament, the Epistle, and the Gospel witness to the vital selectivity of the worship service, which has gradually evolved in terms of the liturgical calendar. Readings, prayers, hymns, and sacramental celebration serve to weld the members of the Church militant, dormant, and triumphant into a unity of undefeatable life. Saved humanity enters with the Trinity and the angels into one time-transcending, history-outlasting community. Small wonder that, already in the later patristic age, Bible preaching falls increasingly into the pattern being set up for the Lord's days and those of the saints. And it is less remarkable still, that, in the Middle Era, preaching takes on the form of instruction in the symbol, the sacraments, and the path leading away from the vices into the Christian productivity of the virtues.

In the Middle Ages it was necessary to aid the priest-preacher in his own spiritual growth as well as to foster his usefulness in the care of souls. To this end the Church developed various books including portions of the Scriptures, together with selections from the homilies of other preachers who had taught Scriptural truth in its intimate context of liturgical celebration. Some of these books, like the breviaries so happily introduced by the Mendicants, placed in productive juxtaposition with hymns, prayers, and Scriptural lections, the homilies of a Chrysostom, an Augustine, a Bede, or a Bernard. Through other aids, such as the invaluable manuals produced to assist the literate priest in his task of instruction, the primacy of the saving liturgy and the necessity of cultivating the moral virtues were enjoined.

The councils, moreover, from the ancient period to the Protestant Revolt sought to make every priest, when so authorized by his bishop, and every monastic or mendicant preacher within his stated limits, a potential proclaimer of the Creed, the all-importance of the sacraments, and the indispensability of the virtuous life. Charlemagne's renaissance, so frequently misinterpreted as being a largely secular revival of learning, is properly seen in his capitularies as developing a training program for monks and secular clergy, and through them a revival of religious life, however elementary, for the populace at large. These legislative fiats sought to raise the clergy to a place of minimal learning from which they could teach to the people the Credo, the Pater, the sacraments, certain rudimentary homilies, and a not-too-frequently encountered probity of life. This required liturgical reforms, architectural planning, and a revival of preaching. Such preaching neither appreciated nor anticipated the inculcation of the naked Gospel, as Wyclif later called for it; but it did make a place for the Commandments and the more obvious teachings of the Gospel as incorporated in the Mass.

In the long night of preaching from 600 to 1200, the minister often failed to declare the evangelical truth as the apostolic and patristic Fathers had done; he lapsed, also, from his instruction of the people in the fundamentals of Christian worship. When, however, the twelfth and thirteenth century revival came, the reassertion of the priest's duty as preacher of the Word and administrator of the sacraments came once more to the front.

That able bishop of Rome, Innocent III, had inaugurated his administration with a sermon replete with Biblical phraseology and calling for the feeding of Christ's sheep with the Bread of the Eucharist. His manual on the sacrament of the altar, like that of John

Beleth, gives a dignified, beautiful exposition of the Church's liturgical functions, the proclamation of which is the priest's major purpose in preaching. Once again the preaching of the Word is discussed and practiced with high conviction as being the way of salvation that Christ had willed.

In the Franciscan and Dominican traditions, creative innovations were to be introduced into the liturgy. Papal privileges permitted them to preach in dioceses that might otherwise have been closed to them. But Francis and many of his followers in lay exhortation, as well as priestly predication, were to make cultic preaching their great joy in an attempt at world rescue and soul redemption. No one ever believed more enthusiastically than Francis that the greatest event in cosmic history retranspired as often as Christ, in fullest self-surrender, gave himself into the hands of the ministering priest through the eucharistic sacrifice. And Francis, who had learned so much of the Gospel in the liturgical services, and who continued to venerate the officiating priests, however great their faults, for the reconciling service they performed, paid reverent homage to the Lord's body as few have ever done. This he did while admonishing all who preached to people anywhere to advance man's salvation by proclaiming the unconditional necessity of drawing upon the eucharistic graces. More than anything else, his writings are full of the worship to be accorded the Lord in full keeping with the Church's institutional procedures. Next to this, which in itself calls for complete surrender of the self in a positive spirit, comes his plea for a pacification of the world through annunciation to it of sacramental redemption. For this reason he wishes preaching to be direct and edifying in its every effect on the present life, in order that all men may be led to make better preparation for their felicity in the great community of heaven.

And the Dominicans, well versed from their inception in the liturgical services expected of canons, gave themselves, together with other Mendicants, to an apostolate for the liturgical Church. They disciplined themselves to refute error, propagate truth, and proclaim salvation. They conceived of themselves as the defenders of Peter's vicar on earth and the preachers of rational truths, gained in the schools, to people on every hand. This ministry they discharged, frequently, in the vernacular language.

In the entire range of the Middle Ages, preachers differing as widely in personality as Bede the Venerable and Eudes de Châteauroux celebrated man's companionship with the saints and angels as they paid homiletic reverence to the feast of All Saints. Impassioned as in the former, scholasticized as in the latter, the preaching plea is the same: let us live, now, the good life that is required of those who would join the heavenly host in praising God at the feet of Jesus, with the joys of the Spirit, forevermore. In walking that toilsome, narrow trail from earth to heaven, every human soul must have proclaimed to him the sacraments which Christ had instituted and with which his Gospel is redemptively bound. So thought the uncounted millions of the faithful throughout the course of the Middle Ages.

Even Wyclif himself, with his frequent departure from the Church's sacramental doctrines and his restiveness over a form of preaching too little based on the independent Scriptures, produced his great sermons in relation to the seasons of the liturgical year. To read any one of the preacher's manuals such as the *Christian Mirror* or the *Priestly Mirror* is to realize how much allied in the better priests' minds is their sense of cultic obligation and opportunity with their urgent call to preach the will and Word of the Master. The anthology which follows finds its meaning largely within this realm of thought, being, and action that is the liturgy.

If God be worshiped in sober truth and heavenly things be given their due regard, a decided concern for the duties of neighborliness on every hand will naturally ensue. The preaching of the apostolic age and the Kingdom proclamations of the patristic era were in agreement on this point. In the Middle Ages something of the forthrightness and stark challenge of Jesus' message was lost in the institutional accommodations of a hierarchical Church. Nonetheless, the haunting insistence of the Master that the Kingdom must be preached and the will of God be done on earth as it is in heaven continued to have its subtle influence upon the leaders of the pulpit. However much the social applications of Christian teaching might be directed into narrow and stereotyped channels of thought, this same requirement that present society be answerable to the ultimate demands of the eternal world was at least nominally granted. Rationalizations there might be in the manner of making Christ's teachings both real and reasonably comfortable; complete capitulation there could never be to the non-Christian assertion that devotion to religious truth requires nothing but the private, good intentions of individual men and women.

Consequently, it is not at all strange to discover that medieval preaching, as well as patristic homiletics, reserved a large place for the inculcation of social as well as private Christianity. Though one may read exhaustive treatises and many sermons which apparently have no appreciation of this larger sermonic obligation, the pertinent fact remains. Within the rigid framework of its social presuppositions, medieval Christendom did stand for the co-ordination of inward religious experience on the part of the individual and outward mobilization of group energies for the sake of all people everywhere. And it is a peculiarly inspiring discovery to find that not only the great preachers but the more obscure and frequently more conscientious ones dwell at some length upon man's individual soul in relation, first, to his eternal destiny and, second, with regard to his present duty to his fellow man.

Even such emperors as Charlemagne, who feel themselves under the spell of princely duties conceived to be consummately Christian, seek to impress upon their priestly subordinates the necessity of social ministry. What Charles desires, above everything else within the circle of a caesaropapist theory and practice, is that preachers call upon their people to respond more vigorously in the support of the Church's worship and more responsibly in the direction of their neighborly duties to one another.

We may count it one of the great virtues of medieval life and thought, whatever its manifold defects, that it insists on thinking about the individual and his God in terms of all the faithful and their common Father. Preaching and living on the part of the clergy must, therefore, be of such a nature as to press home the lesson that Christ died to save all men, with joyous anticipation of their eternal companionship in the heaven that God has willed. Preaching to the individual, therefore, cannot be an isolated and detached experience. Before the person can realize both his opportunity and his obligation to serve God and fellow men, he must see something of the wide-reaching implications of his life with other sons of God. Aelfric, for instance, and twelfth-century homiletists, both declare the responsibility of laymen and secular rulers, as well as of professional religionists, to be their brothers' keepers.

If such a socializing religious experience with all of its personalizing effects was to become a deepening reality, the minister of preaching, who was at the same time the administrator of the sacraments, must make it real to the common man's imagination. If such preaching was to be at all effective, it must speak something of the common man's language; it must tug away persistently at his average aspirations and his mediocre ideas.

Whether the ministry of the Gospel be that of Wyclif, who apparently challenged the very foundations of everyday Christendom in the process of seeking its redemption, or the work of Gerson, who pleaded for reforms that would further unify the Church in an age of inglorious schism, the story was essentially the same: great masses of Christians were being called upon, not only to stand against evil in the abstract, but also to declare themselves for transforming principles of life. The pertinence of Bernardine of Siena, as well as that of Girolamo Savonarola, lies precisely in that they both insisted upon going directly to the people with a message which they believed the Lord had meant the people to receive. Both achieved remarkable success in rallying the average citizenry not so much to themselves as to the heart-warming issues of Christian life that manifested themselves in the most commonplace experiences of daily routine.

Of course, there were preachers who did not feel it their primary obligation to consider the people at all. It was much easier and more spectacular to make of themselves exhibitions of rhetorical fluency and institutional success. Some forgot, completely, the admonitions of Augustine and Gregory to put the needs of people first and to speak primarily to their hearts in terms of a demanding Gospel. But there were many who remembered this great necessity of proclaiming Christ to all the people and who also felt free to innovate with regard to methods and procedures best adapted to this end. In spite of the thousands of lines of medieval sermons which apparently have no concern with the ordinary man and woman, there were probably countless ministers of the Gospel who considered it imperative, not only that they be understood, but also that they be regarded as humble leaders in the way of the Master. As already noted, some of the most highly scholastic sermons had possibilities for popular orientation that must not be overlooked.

When a preacher of genuinely impassioned, Christian motivation spoke to the average representatives of his world, he was not mainly erudite or speculative. As a rule, he was not so much systematic in his presentation as he was moving in his appeal for action. Frequently enough he tried experiments in popular delivery and sermonic procedure, and some of these ventures quite obviously yielded poor returns. What we know from a vast mass of sermon materials is that preachers among the Mendicants, as well as some others, found sermon illustrations of a rather obvious kind virtually indispensable to their needs. What the preacher needed was not merely to speak a language or dialect that people could understand; he must make an impact upon the inner consciousness which would not too rapidly give way to lethargy and forgetfulness. Stories of every kind — some of them hardly in keeping with the minister's profession as a follower of Jesus — were consistently utilized. The work of a man like De Vitry shows how effective a general principle could become when illumined by even a hoary illustration or when enlivened by the humorous proddings of a fundamentally sincere, yet always ingenious, storyteller.

By far the most fruitful field of exploitation in the whole area of popular preaching in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the extended use of sermon illustrations or pertinent examples. A rough classification of examples on which the preachers drew most heavily would include: (*a*) the Bible, chiefly the historical books; (*b*) the lives and writings of the Fathers and other sayings of well-known religious people; (*c*) the lives of the saints; (*d*) secular legends and stories dealing with both men and events; (*e*) tales and fables; and (*f*) the highly personal experiences of the preacher himself, especially his meeting with people in his travels.

Although the authors in the patristic age made large use of sermon illustration, it was, of course, reserved to the preaching revival of the twelfth century to restimulate and refurbish the stock of examples already at hand.

Abelard knew how to draw upon classical references for anecdotes just as he knew how to utilize the stories of the early Fathers. *Exempla* are a part of his equipment for helping readers to seize the doctrinal point. Alain de Lille brings the first formal appreciation of the new role which the *exempla* may assume in the employ of the pulpit orator. He recommends the use of the *exemplum* to stimulate the faithful and to join things more familiar with those not quite so readily understood.

Jacques de Vitry, however, is the master of sermon illustration. This thirteenth-century religious leader, who had a wide knowledge of people in many lands, knew human nature firsthand. Having traveled widely over Europe and the Near East, he had come to know not only the eccentricities of the common man but the peccadilloes of the great as well. His appreciation of the common life did not stop, by any means, with a knowledge of how to preach to average citizens of France or Italy. He felt it incumbent upon him to speak with as much concern for the rich man's soul and the bishop's spiritual needs as for the ineffable longings of a humble peasant. For him, therefore, common life meant not something that was mean or low — such as the status of a slave — but, rather, the Christian aspirations and the human failings that united all conditions of men, whatever their social position or their place in the sinful history of man as a race.

In order to meet these varying spiritual conditions he made himself, first of all, an indefatigable student of how people reacted to varied experiences on every possible occasion. He filled his memory, not only with the stories handed down through the past and the illustrations preserved in old, moth-eaten volumes, but also with the events that had transpired in his own colorful life in France, Italy, and Palestine. Thus he approached the solutions of Christian problems as a preacher who was at one and the same time a pastor of humble men's souls and the able administrator of a powerful diocese. Rising to be a cardinal, he never ceased to be a peculiar combination of fearless critic and prophet, on the one hand, and ecclesiastical opportunist, on the other. He found himself utterly disgusted with the professional religionists of his day and said so quite plainly. Just the same, he was, himself, as any human being must be, guilty of some lapses from the highest ideals which he preached. What makes him important is not that he set himself up as a spiritual model, or that he became a statesman of the Western Church. It is, simply, that he brought his vast store of knowledge about people and things vividly within the sphere of effective preaching and living.

Strictly speaking, De Vitry is not very adept in the clarification of preaching principles. He is much more effective when he is carrying out these same principles in practice. Nonetheless, he does theorize at some length as to what makes an effective preacher. These professional discussions on preaching technique are to be found in the various prologues to his different classes of sermons. For instance, in the introduction to his *Sermons for the Church Year* he is concerned to know what is actually the basis of the true sermon, just as he wishes to uncover the qualities of a good preacher and the method of adapting a given doctrine to different hearers or social conditions. Naturally, in such a connection he does not pass over the *exemplum.* He definitely recommends the use of stories drawn from the lives of the Fathers as well as the exposition of certain spiritual qualities symbolized by inanimate objects. He holds that a story about certain properties of stones or animals may be more effective in teaching the spiritual truth to relatively ignorant people than a long drawn-out disquisition.

Furthermore, in the Prologue to his *Series of More Popular Sermons,* he stresses much the same idea but emphasizes even more forcefully the versatility of preaching when it is buttressed by examples. He says that one may well use them to stimulate the piety of the simple faithful. And these require something more than abstraction and platitude. If one wishes to interest lay hearers of any kind, the *exempla* are necessarily called for. They even have their uses when one wishes to keep an illiterate from going to sleep or to arouse some poor soul who has pretty well started on the way to somnolence. It is in a connection such as this that he descends to bathos when, pausing in the midst of his sermon, he shouts, " That sleepy old woman back there will never know what I am about to say unless she wakes up." One must, however, not jump to the conclusion that Jacques de Vitry was merely a cheap sensationalist in his preaching methods. As a rule, he was not; though, like most effective speakers, he violated, at some time or other, practically all his own rules for preaching. He was doubtless sincere when he warned his preaching brethren against vain and inept historiettes, that is, those fables and poetical curiosities which edify little and merely pique the interest to no good purpose. He was unalterably set against all buffoonery and obscenity; so much so that one is more than mildly surprised upon hearing some of his own stories, which certainly pass well over the line of our own sense of delicacy. Here, however, one must remember that customs and modes change and that our age is inclined to regard as obscene some things that were not only tolerated but quite acceptable in De Vitry's day. He may not have been prudish; he certainly was not hypocritical in his standards of morality. And when he spoke directly to a situation, he was frank first and delicate afterward.

Anyone who has studied at some length, not only the manifold stories that he told, but the contexts in which they appear, will be in position to understand the words of an ancient manuscript which declares that by his preaching word he moved the whole of France as no one had ever done before and as no one has done since. One cannot well deny his sincere interest in the spiritual needs of the various congregations that he addressed. Furthermore, he thought of them, not merely as so many people, in the mass, but, surprisingly often, as a highly varied community of unique personalities. He knew, likewise, that, in many instances, what was required was the edification of the simple and uninformed, rather than the further instruction of the learned. Inasmuch as he was, himself, a forthright person, he found it hard to tolerate other preachers who merely made a show of their professional craftsmanship when they should have been ministering to the need of human souls. With a pertinence that requires little commentary, he pointed out that what a sick man needs is not an eloquent physician but one who is prudent, benign, and who knows how to cure. Furthermore, he was quite well aware that the preacher's business was not to add further befuddlement to people's already confused minds, but, rather, to bring some light to their gathering darkness. He was, therefore, an advocate, both in his theoretical sections and in his actual preaching, of direct, sententious, and, it must be admitted, a sometimes racy style of preaching. As already indicated, he did not believe in letting a good story go to waste. It is remarkable, just the same, to observe how few stories he mutilated by overtelling them.

Naturally also, the stories that he told, the length of time that he required in the telling, the niceties or the crudities of style, and the every modification of the preacher's art are determined by the circumstances of the groups and the individuals that made a claim on his heart. One is quite prepared to hear him say, therefore, that Latin is all right for preaching to those in convents or learned gatherings, but that the vernacular in its most malleable form is required for the uninstructed. Furthermore, he realizes, as does every good preacher, that the poor, uninstructed soul must be ministered to in terms of conceptions and truths that are as clear to the heart as vigorous motion is to the eyes. Lucidity and starkness of imagery are, therefore, prerequisites in the rhetorical style of that minister who would speak to the unlearned. For this and like reasons, it is increasingly apparent why De Vitry followed no absolute formula in approaching his preaching problem. Sometimes he used a particular formula; sometimes he did not. On occasion he made a short story out of the very narrative that was highly expanded under different circumstances. There was no set number of major narrations that he felt called upon to inject into a given sermon. It has been estimated that De Vitry, like other good preachers, improvised and modified on the spot.

If one turns to an actual sermon such as that which is included in the selections that follow, he gets a ready appreciation of De Vitry's vitality, as well as a reasonable perspective on his many faults in preaching. Certainly, he limited himself to no given number of stories as such. In a real sense, every sermon that he preached was an artfully constructed combination of life stories. This is quite apparent when one consults his famous sermon to husbandmen and vinedressers. Like many people who are a bit hard-pressed to find a theme for the very sermon they are to preach, he goes back to the Book of Zechariah to find the words: "I am . . . a husbandman; for Adam is my example from my youth," and he couples with this the very pertinent admonition to sow the seed in the morning and not to cease in the evening. From this rather neutral beginning, De Vitry produces a fairly characteristic address which is thoroughly in keeping with the problems of working people, particularly farmers and keepers of vineyards. Here he has a good opportunity to declare, by way of introduction, that preachers as well as farmers ought always to be diligent in sowing the seed; and that, just as the farmer pauses to ask God's blessing before he puts the grain in the soil, so the preacher properly calls for the divine fructification of that seed which is the Word of God. Of course, a good farmer does not cease working simply because the weather is bad; nor does any good Christian slacken his efforts because of adversity.

Continuing in the same context, De Vitry points out that labor in the fields is a natural consequence of the sin of Adam. But whatever may have been the reason for work in the first place, it certainly has an honored status in the world as it is presently organized. Actually, those who work with their hands with good Christian intent are no less worthy than Churchmen who perform their high office in the regular ecclesiastical routine. Speaking, as he is, to laboring people, De Vitry is not slow to point out that many a humble peasant in his unrelieved routine may be serving with greater genuineness than some people who follow more ostensibly religious vocations. But just at the point when his hearers are sensing a comforting note in the preacher's refrain, a salutary jolt is administered to them. It is very foolish for them to work solely for a physical sustenance without proper thought to the kind of life which brings eternal as well as temporal reward. The preacher reminds his hearers that it is nothing less than stupid to have a single return from one's labors when he may just as well have a double increment.

The worker must remember that both his hands are needed; one must be used for laboring and the other for giving. Priests and monks may work with their hands and draw support from the responsive earth. But they may not enter into secular negotiation. On the other hand, the average workman must see to it that his everyday affairs do not crush out his interest in the support of the Church and her servants. It is nothing short of sacrilege to withhold tithes from the Lord's minister. Some of the laity are actually known to divert such proper income from the clergy to themselves. They should remember that a layman cannot celebrate the sacraments. After all, the priest ministers in a way that the poor laborer never can. And each must see to it that he supplements the labors of the other in serving the Lord.

Such a context gives fruitful opportunity for De Vitry to draw upon his store of examples. He has no trouble in remembering stories of people who would not pay their tithes and, also, of good, poor people who gave until it hurt. One of his illustrations must have occasioned great joy to his laboring audience when he proceeded to tell about the stingy knight who affected to be a very generous person but was shown by his bumbling servant to be the very opposite. Another castigated the penuriousness of a certain woman named Bertha who, having the keeping of the household budget and the oversight of her husband's resources, shut out all consideration for the poor and prepared only for her own selfish future. Then she died, and her husband was asked to contribute to the surcease of her soul. But he, now preoccupied with the approach of a second marriage, merely took liberties with a French proverb in saying, "Bertha had all my goods in her power; let her have all that she did for her own soul." The preacher was not at all above delighting people of one class with stories of the foibles that plagued another social grouping. He gives the impression that he could go on for hours with stories of miserly folks who even hoard food and clothes until they become good for no one, rather than give them to the destitute. This, in turn, gives De Vitry opportunity to remind his hearers that genuine alms are required of rich and poor. Jesus himself finally surrendered his very life for the salvation of mankind. Jacques' hearers were certainly not offended when he told stories of those who defrauded the indigent. Yet, he made them see quite soon that this might have reference to themselves and not just to some hypothetical rich man. Leviticus and Deuteronomy were very stern in their denunciation of such people. The Gospel was even sterner. And, speaking as he was to a laboring audience, he found or made an opportunity to remind his listeners that fraud can be practiced by workers and employers alike. With no very startling social theories advanced, he calls upon all classes to remember the social responses that the Bible, the Fathers, and current Christian tradition demand of them.

In such a free-ranging analysis of one of De Vitry's popular sermons and with regard to many similar productions, one is impressed with certain outstanding points. There is, first of all, the timeliness of his approach to the specific audience that he addresses. Not everything he says is in perfect order; it may not be told with complete propriety. But, throughout, there is a certain saltiness and pithiness that laboring people could hardly have found tiresome. There are few long, involved stories. Some of the *exempla* are much more direct and convincing than others. Some are certainly time-honored in the memories of his hearers. Others may have prompted his listeners to remark that the preacher had found at least a few new stories. A mixture of appeal is provided in the same sermon. Much Scriptural quotation, considerable narration, more than a trace of humor, some parental chiding, and quite a lot of inspiration go side by side. What did it matter that some farfetched deductions were introduced, or that good taste was not always preserved in puristic fashion? The preacher was a real man preaching to real people. They understood what he was about, and they could never completely forget the pertinence of his message to their lives. Which of them would challenge his peroration on the preciousness in God's sight of honest, God-fearing laborers and the true dignity accorded the work of their hands?

What De Vitry was doing in France, Eudes de Cheriton was doing in a somewhat similar way in England. Among other things, he collected well over a hundred moral fables and supplied, in a sermon book, scores of homilies suited to the festivals of the Church year and of the saints. Like De Vitry, he realized the great usefulness of sermon illustrations when dealing with popular audiences. At times, he was much more concise and also more highly stylized in his treatments than the great cardinal. Some of his works were admirably suited to expansion by an average preacher.

But the real legatees of De Vitry's preaching genius are to be found among the outstanding representatives of those Mendicants whose star he had seen rising both in the West and in the East. A onetime Master-General of the Dominican order was Humbert de Romans. His treatment of the use of *exempla* is found in his book, *On the Education of Preachers,* and in a more specific collection of such illustrations. As in previous instances, a wide variety of data is assembled for the purpose of illustrating effective preaching. This leads to a discussion of the sermon and of the sermon maker as well. Natural history and historical anecdotes find a large place in his repertoire. He is pleased to refer to the birds just as the blessed Anthony did; and he recalls the Master's admonition to " consider the birds of the heaven and the lilies of the fields." Such references to natural phenomena have their place, he believes, in the instruction, not only of the faithful, but of the infidel as well. At the same time, he remembers the excessive uses to which any good thing may be put. He, therefore, advises sternly against mere trifles; the undiscriminating use of fables is specifically discounted. Above all things, the preacher ought to know what illustrations to use and when to use them.

Humbert is at his best when he passes from the realm of general principles to the field of specific application. He is as devoted as anyone can possibly be to the necessities of human salvation. This causes him to be very much alert to the diverse requirements of different souls. Perhaps his most lasting contribution is the exposition of common-sense rules that should govern the manner of using *exempla.* These are applied with proper consideration as to the preacher, the hearers whom he addresses, the veracity and authority of his sources, and the general edification that may be hoped for by so illustrating the sermon. It is especially necessary that those preachers should use the *exemplum* who are best fitted to narrate agreeably. Obviously enough, not everyone is suited alike, in his predilections and his equipment, to the utilization of this method. Humbert advises those who are so circumstanced to stick to another method which to them will be preferable.

As regards the listeners, it is imperative that the preacher know exactly what caliber of audience he is addressing. Perhaps his materials will help those who are learned but will fail to edify those who are not. Again, the good minister must have a sense of proportion as regards the number of examples that he brings to bear in a given discourse. He must be careful to choose only those illustrations which will carry an evident utility. Those which are merely superfluous are to be rigidly weeded out. It is better that a preacher employ no *exempla* at all than use them simply for effect. Considerable care should be exercised in assuring the competence of authorities who go surety for the illustrations used. Those drawn from the masters in theology, the desert Fathers and saints, the great doctors of the Church, the Bible, and famous philosophers and naturalists have a place of priority.

Outstanding in more than one particular is an English Franciscan, Nicole Bozon, who made a special place for himself and the *exemplum* in England. He presented the tale at the very time when English was not yet in popular usage and when French was only gradually giving way to the new vernacular. He seems to have been a popular itinerant preacher with a remarkable knowledge of people's religious and moral views. From a variety of sources, he brought a kind of rude order into widely separated narratives which he thought useful to the popular mind. In some respects he was the imitator of Eudes of Cheriton in that he made available to those of limited intelligence the very materials best suited to their needs. Thus he found a way to leave fairly satisfactory moral implications through illustrative recourse to innumerable commonplace data of experience. He also enjoyed delineating what passed for the authoritative facts of natural history. As a good Franciscan, he was concerned with clarifying the significance of the sacraments and the devotional practices associated with them. He was anxious, also, that people live, in the strength of these same sacraments, a life that would best avoid the vices and most effectively conduce to the virtues. Hence, he found it particularly appropriate to use that *exemplum* known as the "*moralité*," with its large use of bestiaries. He employed the widest-ranging adaptiveness of the ever-present fable.

Sometimes Bozon finds his point best illustrated through the properties, not only of an animal, but also of a plant, or a stone. From these he draws out the inevitable moral application implicit in it. With such illustrations there usually goes a battery of Biblical texts and secular authorities which he can support by the citation of fables and anecdotes without end. On occasion, the fables are made to accompany moralizations that directly proceed from the Bible itself. Whatever combination of curious lore he places before the preacher, his purpose is the same: he wishes to make easier, and more direct, the possibilities of edification.

Smyth has analyzed from the Meyer edition a number of the typical stories, with their particular narrations, that are most characteristic of Nicole. A staggering variety of homely tales which, in turn, place in relief some basic moral principle is found throughout Nicole's work. For instance, the proposition may be advanced that the company of the rich is to be shunned by the poor. Whereupon it is pointed out that the moon always keeps herself at a respectful distance from the sun; so that, when the sun appears in the East, the moon places herself in the West, or when the sun goes to the West, the moon properly seeks the East. "Let simple folk do likewise: let them keep themselves from rich folk in order to avoid evils that may turn to hurt, as the mouse said to the cat." Precisely what the mouse said to the cat deserves a little narration all of its own, which Nicole obligingly gives. The story is such as to delight, not only most children, but a majority of humble-minded adults as well. Of course, it is supposed to clinch the contention already set forth.

Again, people are warned against pride by the reminder that the peacock has learned the means of avoiding such a vice. He, " after admiring his tail, casts his glance at his foot, and at once his pride is appeased." Such stories as these and many others may not have the vogue today that they enjoyed in this English Franciscan's time. They possess, nonetheless, something of a lasting fascination for hearers across the centuries; and, with slight alterations, they appear in a surprising number of instances, safely incorporated within our own storytelling stock.

M. Paul Meyer, in his learned introduction to his far less learned Franciscan friend, Nicole, insists that few works had such an effect on popular religious life in England at the beginning of the fourteenth century as this particular unliterary venture. However far-fetched his tales may be, and however ill-considered some of the moral implications of them may appear, one fact remains securely established: the populace of Bozon's day liked to hear his stories, and they found their way into a continuingly large number of sermons preached by other men.

Whether one ranges through the representative collections of *exempla* provided by the Dominicans or reverts periodically to the companion series supplied by the Franciscans, he encounters a like condition. The Mendicants, with their resources of training and their cultivated interest in popular preaching, became increasingly noted for their aptness in all the forms of public persuasion. Unless one is prepared to spend unlimited time in surveying the works that they wrote, he must be content to select but a few of their more outstanding accomplishments. Salimbene, the chatty Franciscan of the late thirteenth century, and Voragine, the dedicated Dominican of the same period, with his collected lives of the saints, together give us an expanding coverage on the total experience of medieval Christian people.

Salimbene, with all his loyalty to things Franciscan, is by no means averse to handing on stories from within his own fraternity that have definite limits of edification. With apparently no conscious addiction to gossip, at least that of the more malicious sort, he does pick up and transmit from things seen, heard, and read, many examples that are far more fresh and entertaining than those more conventionally drawn from The Proverbs and the Fathers of old. Of course, he maintains a goodly store of time-honored stories. But he has a special section in his chronicle that deals with the doings of prelates; and in this particular area of discussion, he makes one feel at home, not only in the frailties and triumphs of the Franciscan world, but also in the whole psychological province of medieval Christendom. His chronicle thus becomes one serialized personal memoir in the grand manner within which the greatest possible diversity of experience and memories jostle about.

In the light of such a seasoned collector's major interest, it is not difficult to see why Wyclif developed such an animus to the preaching methods of friars. He could not deny that they made some use of Scriptural material. But he was certainly right in assuming that Bible materials became badly mixed with secularized accounts in the hands of many a mendicant raconteur. His chief objection was that the Gospel was thus reduced to the status of a badly mangled and often positively misrepresented source, which frequently had no more authority than any other one of a dozen storytelling collections. In truth, Wyclif did not resent, in principle, the friars' going to the people with a preaching message. He believed in doing just that, himself. He did resist what he regarded as being the defamation of Scriptural authority in the hands of ill-informed, undiscriminating examplemongers. Once having become a habitual critic of the mendicant methods of preaching, he became less and less able to see any good in their procedures. At the same time, he, for his part, presented a Gospel that was frequently so shorn of all illustrative embellishments as to lose something of the freshness and delight that Jesus himself had imparted to his own preaching through parable and metaphor.

Christian history demonstrates repeatedly that the Church, at its best, has been a self-criticizing institution. This healthful propensity has, in turn, led to the necessity of proclaiming frequent reforms. From the third century through the fifteenth, the masters of the pulpit not only found it their duty to look into their own lives and that of their communities, but also to proclaim the will of the Lord where each was concerned. Since God's purpose could never be worked out with perfection by fallible beings, these same divine behests must lead to the periodic resurveying and repurifying of Christian hearts, individually and collectively.

As a result, the concept of reformation has been a perennial resource in the armory of Christian preachers; it has also called for a special type of ministry in the pulpit. If life, as it is, is to be brought into judgment before the ultimate requirements of the eternal, it must be analyzed and resynthesized in terms of Christian ideals such as the Lord's prophets are expected to make public.

Whatever may have been the tenderness of conscience or the annoyance with criticism on the part of Churchmen in any given age, the necessity for self-examination, repentance, and corporate, as well as personal, reformation continued to be emphasized. In addition, the opponents of Christian thought made their attitudes quite clear in a continuing barrage of invidious attacks. All too frequently, the truth of their criticism had to be acknowledged by the best friends of the Christian institution itself. In so far as a preacher was an honest servant of his Lord, he dared not quail at outside censure; he must call for inward purification and public rededication.

The words " reform " and " reformation," therefore, have no merely specialized connotation of revolt against existing Churchly institutions. They suggest the continuing and unspectacular necessity of Christians measuring themselves against the absolutes of the Lord and reshaping their intentions and overt actions in the ways inexorably demanded by his prophets. In the Early Church and throughout the Middle Ages, this plea for reformation continued to be made. Origen exacted from his brethren new promises as to the clarification of intellectual issues and the reconsecration of the mind. Chrysostom not only sympathized with the members of his congregation when they sat waiting for the news of their emperor's expected outburst of displeasure; he also held up in prophetic fashion the renewal of life demanded of those who truly repent of their sins and come once more, for forgiveness, to their Lord.

Such an able statesman as Gregory the Great by no means confined his attention to the running of papal estates and the dispatching of letters to ecclesiastical subordinates. His long sermons and commentaries on the meaning of the Prophets and the Gospels had a decidedly reformatory tone. For him, as for his brethren throughout the Christian ages, to be a follower of Christ was to turn again and remake one's life with the aid of Christ's powers in one's soul. Nor was reform limited to the great administrators of the See of Rome. Far away, in Celtic lands, fearless men like Columban called upon popes, themselves, to be true to their consummately pastoral responsibilities. The Holy Father was reminded in gentle words, but with stern undertones of spirit, that Irish Christians could subscribe only to such principles as they found rooted in the Gospel, regardless of any interpretations to the contrary which might emanate from Italy.

In that period of cultural transformation, known as the era of Roman disintegration and rising Germanic empires, new bases of life were being wrought out for peoples and kingdoms. All of this was being accomplished with the aid of preachers who dared to speak for old institutions as well as for new princes. In an age of missionization that found its centers both in Rome and among Irish apostles, Christian preachers went forth to speak clear and uncompromising words to Frankish kings, Thuringian tribesmen, and learned scholars in monastic retreats. The message that they carried emphasized the necessity of changing men's individual and social lives with the clear mandates of the Old Testament and refurnishing the spirit according to the exacting requirements of Jesus' own Gospel. However much people might seek to avoid the discomfort of being Christian in practice, as well as in theory, some preacher was always to be found who would tolerate nothing less than a full-fledged attempt at reform of life. Whether amidst the stark crudities of virtually primitive peoples or in the courts of Christian kings, the necessity persisted for the bold declaration of a reforming and redeeming evangelism.

Strange as it may seem, the Carolingian Renaissance finds its larger meaning in this very connection. Perhaps no man had ever sought more insistently and consistently than Charlemagne to construct an empire on the basis of power and domination. Perhaps, also, none had been more completely under the spell of an Augustinian concept of the true prince doing the will of an Old Testament God. However this may be, Charles called upon every cleric in his domain, whether secular or regular, to remember his primary obligation as a harbinger of the Christian faith and a preacher of the Christian sacraments.

It is clearly apparent in many documents that emanated from the king himself that he proposed to insure reformation among clergy and people, in part at least, through preaching and teaching by qualified priests. Their charge was to make available to the people the essentials of the Catholic faith. The sacraments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the strengthening of spiritual and social life on the most elemental levels were to be incorporated without fail. When, therefore, Charles called the absence of such instruction to the attention of a leading bishop, he took for granted that this official would immediately prepare a directive to his clergy that should embody the essential principles at issue. A persistent note in the reform program of Charlemagne was his declaration that the proper balance of ecclesiastical life in the realm could not be maintained unless preaching and spiritual instruction were properly carried out.

But it would be quite erroneous to assume that Charlemagne's realm was the only portion of Christendom that responded to the emphasis on preaching or that his was the only initiative directed toward homiletical reform and its proper objectives. In his own area, and elsewhere, there was a continuing tradition of reform-preaching that issued from both high and low ecclesiasts in their own right. Synods and councils, some of them, to be sure, in response to public pressure, sought to improve clerical morals and general Christian deportment by this means. And such representative gatherings of Church officials were not purely sporadic or regional. A study of conciliar canons shows that in even the darker periods of homiletic emphasis usually some attention was given to the potentialities of improved preaching as a means to more effective Christianization of life. Naturally we have much of our information from radical, or even outstanding, Churchmen. But there is good reason to believe that many humble-minded, conscientious preachers continued to feel a sense of spiritual vocation in the declaration of Christian principles.

If one looks to England in the tenth century, he is, of course, struck with the reform program being worked out by St. Dunstan. Archbishop of Canterbury in the last half of the century, he is rightly said to have been the greatest ecclesiastical statesman of pre-Conquest England. There is clear evidence that he made genuine attempts to improve preaching as one means of raising the level of secular clergy and monastic leaders as well. His ultimate purpose, of course, was to make these leaders better able to direct the lives of their followers. It is, perhaps, no accident that in his period there was a revived interest in the Gospel and an increased activity in editing and paraphrasing Biblical materials. On the continent, reform movements such as those at Cluny and others within the scope of Hildebrand's enlarging orbit necessarily depended much on improved Christian preaching. In this connection the name of Peter Damian cannot be forgotten. Although a man with numerous intellectual conquests to his credit, he deliberately set himself to a monastic vocation, partly in protest against the corrupt conditions within the Church of his time. As an associate of contemporary popes and in keeping with his own convictions, he continued to preach a stern reform program. His most famous denunciation of the clergy, known as the *Gomorrah,* is not pleasant reading now and must certainly have made many preachers uncomfortable in his own age. But bitter though his diatribes may have been, they were not limited to a purely negative interpretation of Christian life. What he sought was an improvement in the Christian experience of the clergy, first, and of the people, thereafter. If one reads contemporary accounts by other responsible Churchmen, he cannot possibly conclude that Peter was wholly misrepresenting current conditions.

One of the greatest of the twelfth-century reformers was Raoul Ardent. Raoul, himself, seems never to have counted the cost of frankness in denouncing wickedness high and low. But his preaching was not merely common scolding. It was definitely prophetic in that it brought Gospel judgments to bear upon every kind of dereliction and every form of spiritual inertia. As already indicated in another connection, his own conviction took the form of declaring for a more evangelical movement. One reason that he could rise above sheer denunciation to warmhearted charity was that he discerned in the Scriptures both the consequence of, and the cure for, defections from Christian rectitude. He asked repeatedly, in effect, what could be expected of the general Christian populace if preachers themselves were not evangelical in their source of inspiration or Gospel-rooted in the springs of their own lives. It is noteworthy that in the sermons that he preached in the due course of celebrating the liturgical seasons of the year he found it perfectly natural to call upon priests and people for a better understanding and truer application of the Scriptures. In so doing he took his text from the New Testament and from the purported vicar of Christ himself — the one presumably seated first in the papal chair. Like Peter, he declared that nothing but disaster can be expected from a clergy that is more interested in mercenary gains than it is in the cure of souls. He must have wearied some people with his consistent rebukes of self-seeking prelates. He quoted, with Ezekiel and New Testament writers, the Lord's terrible judgment of those pastors who refuse to feed their flocks. Clearly enough, the sheep do not follow bad shepherds; or if they do, they may be expected to come to some tragic end.

Like the greatest of his contemporaries, as well as some of later ages, Raoul was not content to substitute comfortable preaching with its vain fables and comedies for the stern fare of the Gospel. With Paul he would say, " We preach Christ crucified and risen from the dead." He could not refrain from pointed remarks as to leaders of influence whom he knew who clearly spurned the way of the Holy Scriptures and went off into more pleasant homiletic bypaths. Nor did he hesitate to denominate them as the destroyers of men's souls. But he was too fair to disparage only the minister who thus sought popular approval by recourse to superficial appeals. He also attacked the Christian public which preferred panderers to depraved tastes above honest distributors of spiritual food. Therefore, both the preacher and the hearer were subjected to a rigid excoriation if they in any wise came in this category. He never tired of asserting that the Scriptures are the only true light in a dark, sinful, and ignorant world. The Lord's Word alone will serve to make men ready for the final accounting. Speaking to men of his own vocation, he called upon them not to seek the delights of this world. He would not have them be ministered unto but implored that they become ministers through a teaching and preaching profession to those whom they led. Thus, mercenary inclinations of any kind and ignorance of the Scriptures in any quarter were, for him, major obstacles to Christian reform. He himself preached a redeeming gospel and called upon others to preach likewise. In this he was striving, not for the hurt of any person, but with charitable concern for the spiritual health of all.

Little need be said about the reform impulse in Bernard of Clairvaux. Perhaps he was, upon occasion, too much aware of his function as a reformer. Nonetheless, some of his most pertinent and gripping messages are addressed to regular and secular clergy who have the souls of people in their care. His discussions of preaching in general may be limited somewhat in their usefulness; his practice of the preaching art for the ends of purification and redemption on a wide scale is not to be undervalued.

When, however, the Middle Ages emerge into the mendicant era, a reformatory experience of enlarged character is at once evident. Francis is too modest to conceive of himself as a preacher in the fullest degree; though as a deacon he does perform many preaching functions. Nevertheless, he accepts the challenge for himself, as well as for his lay and priestly brethren, to minister to the needs of contemporary multitudes. In the areas of liturgical life already observed, he lays down wholesome rules for preaching as a means of clarifying the ends and methods of worship. His followers in the centuries to come were not always true to his conception of their immediate duties. But they did become, increasingly, a bulwark against heresy and a support to the Church in its program of Christian revival. However much they might employ new methods of illustration, and to whatever degree they made use of scholastic formulas in the preparation of their sermons, they ministered increasingly to people of scattered interests under almost every conceivable circumstance. The Dominicans, with a peculiar sense of preaching apostolate growing within them from their very inception, set out to defend the truth as the Church conceived it. As inquisitors against the heretics, as missionaries in the most widely separated corners of the Christian world, and as trained exponents of good doctrine, they sought to remove the stain of corruption within the Church and to replace it with a purified ecclesiastical life. Their influence, also, upon the people of eminence and the submerged classes in town and country made them invaluable agents of the institutional Church.

A similar story of reformation by means of preaching must be told from the time of Roger Bacon in the thirteenth through the middle of the sixteenth century. Bacon is sure that preachers, too many of them formed in the crystallized mold of the schools, are not only badly prepared in Biblical studies; they also retail the same old platitudes denied alike by true scholarship and personal experience. His own order and that of his Dominican brothers have shown sad decay. In spite of everything that has been done, the whole clergy, including many representatives of Rome, are a stench in the nostrils of the Lord. Power politics dominates everywhere. The sacraments are dishonored. Christians are, in reality, inferior in their morals to the pagans whom they seek to convert. Certainly, some great cataclysm of life must come — and that very soon. Antichrist will appear on the scene with all the horrors foretold by prophets and sibyls of old; that is, unless some good pope or emperor will provide the needed impetus to thoroughgoing reform. The Church, if it is to be truly purged, must be stirred to a new purity from within. Roger Bacon, like many of those who are not themselves primarily answerable for preaching, is quite bitter about the way in which others do it. But he is surely right in assuming that those who have the best opportunities in training ought to give some of the best examples of the preaching art. He finds, on the other hand, that all too frequently the men who stir the people are poor, uninformed preachers not properly prepared to serve the needed cause. One need not go farther to sense the inclination on his part to call for a more effective predication based on good scholarship and Gospel nurture.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries experienced all the cumulative frustrations of the Great Schism. Yet Jean Gerson provided a new example of the effective minister prosecuting the reformation of Christian life. Together with his former teacher, Pierre D'Ailly, he bore much of the burden of the great councils, particularly that of Constance, which sought to unify the Church and to reform it in head and members. Having come from a humble station in life to the University of Paris, he distinguished himself as student, teacher, administrator, and finally as the leader of a large group of ecclesiastical reformers. Many of his greatest sermons were delivered in connection with the conciliar program. But his function was wider than even this noble attempt. He has every right to be known as the preacher to every man. Thus he preached before the king of France and ignorant peasants with the same Christian dedication and fervor. Youth and children were not forgotten in an age that very frequently passed them by. It is not unusual to have him pause in addressing adults to bring in some reference peculiarly relevant to the needs of these young hearers. Out of regard for their religious problems he prepared a little pamphlet called *Leading the Little Ones to Christ.* He preached in Latin and in the vernacular on almost every kind of occasion.

Gerson's preaching included a genuine concern for the truth in terms of versatile proclamation; a knowledge of Scriptures; spiritual-mindedness; an exemplary life evidenced in oneself; the hard-working preparation of the sermon, as well as an alertness to age-old human problems. Every sermon grows out of a single emphasis designed to support the one true Gospel, the story of Christ's love. In the life of Jesus he found every instruction for leading human beings to their heavenly goal. The love of God and Christ cannot but breed repentance in the human soul and so bring it to an amendment of life.

The most learned man of the fifteenth century was Nicholas of Cusa. Having played a chief role in the unification of his beloved Church and having come increasingly to support the papal point of view, Cusa made his whole Episcopal career a close-knit prosecution of the reform ministry. Few people knew better than he how savage were the onslaughts against the Church by its enemies from outside. Paganism was steadily encroaching upon the sacred preserves of the true Gospel. There was only one cure for this as Nicholas saw it. That was found in the interior renewal of Christian men and women and, through them, the remaking of the outside world, infidels included. People everywhere must be taught the duties of their Christian life and persuaded to accept the obligations that went with those responsible instructions. This meant teaching the faith to the clergy and prevailing upon them to implant it in the people. The progressive invasion of society by pagan ideas and customs must be checked through the preaching of the Word. Nicholas said, upon occasion, that preaching thus conceived might be even more important than the celebration of the holy mysteries. He stood consistently, however, for a reform of the liturgy and for a reconsecration of individual and social experience on the platform of Christian rededication. In his sermons as ordinarily developed, there are constituent parts directed to the learned, the untutored, and the more singularly devout. He takes every opportunity to explain the sacraments and to create renewed veneration for the liturgy. For him, there is no rigid separation between the preaching of the Gospel and the proclamation of the sacraments.

One has difficulty in thinking of Cusa as a popular discourser. But sermons of a more flexible character he undoubtedly did preach — with what effectiveness is not always clear. He was not above piquing his people's curiosity by legitimate means. He conceived some of his sermons serially and announced them in advance in order to bring his hearers back. On occasion, he utilized the form of dialogue to place in relief some dramatizable issue. He tried different methods for different groups and circumstances. He attacked superstitions, sorceries, and the causes of them, which lay, as he believed, in bad instruction and ignorance. But wherever he preached — whether to councils, university gatherings, popular assemblies, or papal retinues — his prevailing emphasis was always the same; he sought wholesome and total reform in the life of the whole clergy and the entire people.

Savonarola ought, perhaps, to be mentioned in conclusion as an example of the manner in which a reformer may easily be implicated beyond his expectations in the difficult matters of everyday politics. One must not too readily exult at the effectiveness with which he chastised recreant popes, complacent Churchmen, and irresponsible civic leaders. He was not always able to exercise commendable restraint in exposing evil forces and wicked men. Some of his declarations have the sound of near fanaticism. But his main projection of spirit was in the direction of the purified Christian life. And, like Bernardine of Siena and Nicholas of Cusa, he could not dissociate the everyday affairs of the Church from those of society any more than he could ultimately retract his life convictions. Whether for good or ill, he took the Bible as his text and proceeded on the basis of it to his own death.

Thus, the Middle Ages make plain that the Church believes in the efficacy of good preaching and is not indifferent to the suggestions of pulpit reformers. This fact has official confirmation from the leading canons of the Council of Trent. Whatever may be said as to the ultimate structure of the Church and hierarchy there decided upon, the emphasis upon the preaching function as a means to reformation is amply clear.

In the selection of the sermons that follow, an attempt has been made, first of all, to construct a genuine anthology. With the clear conviction that a few individuals, however outstanding, neither make the Church nor thoroughly reflect its life, an honest selection of representative thought and experience has been sought. Whole periods or groups have not been ignored simply because better preaching was found on the part of a select few in some other concentrated area. Nevertheless, unproductive periods have not been consciously presented as being otherwise. Great figures get their due, all the more, in company with lesser men who serve alike as foils to greatness and as reminders of a common, inescapable humanity.

In the main, however, the impossible but necessary task of culling out representative materials from fifteen hundred years of Christian history and testimony has been carried on with one basic intent. This has been the fervent hope that peoples of our own and later times may see the positive witness of these earlier Christians to spiritual values most deeply cherished and the faith most persistently held. The unity of their life passion has, of course, had to be rediscovered in a variety of expressions. Such consistency as may emerge is, one may believe, a tribute to the solidarity underlying earlier ideals rather than an evidence of editorial bias and inadequacy. In making selections, crudities and banalities serving no obviously good end have been arbitrarily exscinded. At the same time, a spiritual instinct has been followed which appreciates, not only the most exalted and noble utterances, but also the less impressive and sometimes more typical outpourings of the human heart. Some deeply edifying currents have coursed adequately through eight hundred words. In a number of instances a preacher or a type of preaching has required considerable space because of the intimate relationships sustained to Christian life as a whole.

Especial regard has been shown for preachers and their works that exercise continuing influence on Christian faith in the West. Naturally, an Origen and a Chrysostom introduced some debatable methods and qualities into their homiletic productions; but their spirit does not die. Some materials have been included that may not fit at all into the present styles of interpreting the Scriptures or the universe. But Basil and Innocent III, for instance, carry in a wrapping, however unacceptable, Christian treasures that must not be lost. Gregory I, like some others, is included not so much to demonstrate that he was a great preacher as to present one who could not fail to prophesy when he felt the power of the Lord descending upon him. Bede the Venerable, whether or not the incontestable author of the selections attributed to him, was, in the spirit of his humility and the eloquence of his life, all that the anthology suggests. Anselm's preaching may be a keen disappointment to some; but what he proclaims is, coupled with his meditations, prayers, and other works, still a call to the listening heart. Almost no one will wonder why Bernard of Clairvaux was generously represented. Those who have questions about his disciple Guarric will be happily surprised at the Scriptural vitality of his message. It can certainly occasion no amazement that the Mendicants are so lengthily reproduced. Undoubtedly, some of the best preaching, and probably some of the worst, came from them. Likewise, a view of university sermons being preached at Paris, 1230–1231, serves both to re-enforce and to refute the contention that academic life is sundered from the people's needs. It is most heartening to hear the best leaders of Paris, and of the friars also, call for an inner reformation that shall place Christ once more in the center of Christian life — where he has always belonged.

Actually, the manner in which Jesus the Christ keeps re-emerging from the homiletic storehouse, in which he is often incarcerated and from which he is so frequently reappropriated, is one of the most instructive qualities that the anthology has endeavored to preserve. It is well to be forewarned against such oversimplified issuance of his Gospel as his followers have often supplied. Augustine, Aelfric, Bonaventura, Eckhart, Wyclif, Gerson, and Cusa had widely differing interpretations of Jesus' meaning for Christians. But they, and many others, did insist that Christians must deal with him as a perennial issue. And if, to some dedicated followers of their Lord, Wyclif and Savonarola seem bent, mainly, on razing Christ's Church to the ground, these preachers of reform should be heard all the more willingly to learn if their stand was fundamentally for Christ or against him.

Unerringly, the selections here made reflect the Church's genius as a worshiping body of the Lord. No truly representative passages could do otherwise. Furthermore, the gigantic issues of the relation of the preacher to Bible and cult are given some necessary clarifications — perhaps as much by unstudied indirection as by conscious emphasis. There has been no awareness of special theses favored or particular individuals and groups placed in advantageous positions. In the anthology there appear the relatively obscure and the admittedly famous, the proud boast of a region and the cosmopolitan preacher, the institutionally courted orator and the suspect declaimer, the university man and the little curate, the fiery reformer and the mystic follower, the lumbering exhorter and the free-ranging evangelist, the people's preacher and the comforter of popes and kings. From Italy, France, Germany, England, Syria, Africa, Palestine, and all points East and West they come. Furthermore, their testimonies are taken, not if they are eligible as men of letters, but if, with all their human failings and virtues, they in some way magnify their Maker and seek to follow the Christ. Temporizers and prophets may be among them. Better men may be left out than are included. But, in so far as their compiler has had the wisdom to discover them, they are representative preachers of a West that is long since past, speaking, however unwittingly, to brethren of later times. If it be said that this is, in large measure, a book for preachers, the judgment will not be denied. The hopeful observation will be added, however, that a book so directly related to the pulpit ministry may well be expected to transmit the rich heritage of the Christian ages, not only to the preaching fraternity, but also to the peoples of every culture and every time.

ORIGEN

(c. 185–251 [254])

ORIGEN produced, during his teaching career at Alexandria and Caesarea, the works of scholarship that proclaim him the most prolific writer and powerful intellect of the Early Church. He not only fathered, in his *Principles*, the first systematic summation of Christian theology in relation to Greek philosophy, but he also gave impetus to that " spiritual interpretation " of the Bible so fatefully employed by later exegetes. Something of his passionately allegorical, yet highly intellectualized, devotion to Christ and the Scriptures is here discernible. See Or.Wke.Gcs. IX, 41–43, III, 196–98, VII, 196–98, VI, 8–10. Translated passages are from R. B. Tollinton, *Selections from the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen.* Used by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers. Pp. 45–46, 49–51, 142–45, 260–62 (Or.Hom.Tr.). Symbols in the introductions refer to the Bibliography.

[1]

THE GREATNESS OF THE SAVIOUR. IT EXTENDS EVEN TO PLACES AS REMOTE AS BRITAIN. IT ASCENDS HIGH AS THE HEAVENS, IT DESCENDS LOW AS HADES (In Lucam. Hom. VI. From the Latin)

The greatness of our Saviour did not appear at the time when He was born, but now, after being apparently suppressed by His opponents, it has shone out. Consider the greatness of the Lord; the sound of His teaching has gone forth into every land, His words unto the ends of the world. Our Lord Jesus, who is the Power of God, has spread into all the world. He is present with us, according to what is read in the Apostle, *When ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ* (I Cor. 5:4). The power of our Lord and Saviour is even with those who are cut off in Britain from our world, with the inhabitants of Mauretania, and with all under the sun who have believed in His name. Consider then the greatness of the Saviour, how it is spread all the world over, and of a truth not even yet have I set forth His real greatness. Ascend to the heavens and behold Him, how He has filled the heavenly places, for He has been seen of angels. Descend in thought into the depths, and you shall behold that He has descended even there. For, *He that descended is the same also that ascended, that He might fill all things . . . that in the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth* (Eph. 4:10; Phil. 2:10). Contemplate the power of the Lord, how it has filled the world, every place that is in heaven, on earth, under the earth; how it has gone right into heaven and ascended unto the heights. For we read that the Son of God has passed through the heavens. If you see these things, you will likewise realize that, *He shall be great*, is no passing observation but a word fulfilled in reality. Great is our Lord Jesus, present or absent. To this our gathering and assembly He has given a share of His might. Be it our prayer to the Lord God that each one of us may deserve to receive this. To whom be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

[2]

ALL SCRIPTURE, DOWN TO ITS MINUTEST DETAILS, HAS PURPOSE AND MEANING. WE FIND DIFFICULTIES AND STUMBLING BLOCKS, BUT THESE ARE DUE TO OUR OWN LIMITATIONS (In Jerem., Hom. XXXIX. From the Greek)

If some time, as you read the Scripture, you stumble over a thought, good in reality yet a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence, lay the blame on yourself. For you must not give up the hope that this stone of stumbling and this rock of offence do possess meaning, so that the saying may come to pass, *He that believeth shall not be put to shame* (Rom. 9:33). First believe, and you shall find under the apparent stumbling block much holy benefit. If we were commanded to speak no idle word, as men who should give account of it in the day of judgment; and if, so far as our power goes, we make it our ambition to cause every word that proceeds out of our mouth to be effective both in us who speak and in those who hear; what are we to think about the prophets but that every word spoken by their mouth was effective? Small wonder if every word spoken by the prophets produced the proper effect of a word. Nay, I hold that every wonderful letter written in the oracles of God has its effects. There is not one jot or one tittle written in Scripture which, for those who know how to use the power of the Scriptures, does not effect its proper work.

It is like the case of herbs; each has its power, whether for health of the body or for some other purpose. But it is not for every one to understand the purpose for which each herb is useful. This belongs to those who have acquired knowledge, the people who spend their time over herbs, so as to see at what time one is to be taken, to what part of the body another is to be applied, in what manner another is to be prepared, so as to be of benefit to the user. In this way the saintly man is a sort of spiritual herbalist, culling from the sacred Scriptures each jot, each chance letter, and discovering the force of the letter and the purpose for which it is of use, and that nothing written is devoid of meaning. If you like to hear a second illustration of this, each member of our body was made by the divine Craftsman for some function. But it is not for all men to know what is the force and the use of each of the members, down to those quite unimportant. It is physicians who have had experience in dissections who can tell for what end each part, even the smallest, has been made by Providence to be useful. I pray you to think of the Scriptures as in this way all herbs, or as one complete body of the word. And if you are neither a herbalist of the Scriptures, nor a dissector of prophetic language, consider not that aught in Scripture is without purpose, but blame yourself rather than the sacred Scriptures, when you fail to discover the meaning of what is written. This preface I make quite in a general sense, possibly of use in regard to the whole of Scripture, so that they who desire to devote themselves to study may be induced not to let a single letter pass without examination and enquiry.

[3]

THE CHIEFS ARE PUNISHED FOR THE SINS OF THE PEOPLE. WHO WOULD DESIRE THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF HIGH OFFICE? EVEN GUARDIAN ANGELS ARE JUDGED FOR THEIR NEGLECT OF THE SOULS COMMITTED TO THEIR CHARGE (In Num. Hom. XX. 4. From the Latin)

And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and the Lord said unto Moses, Take all the chiefs of the people and expose them unto the Lord over against the sun, and the anger of the Lord shall be turned away from Israel (Num. 25:3–4). It is possible that in discussing this passage we may give offence to some persons, but, even if we do, our obedience and service must be given to the words of the Lord rather than to the favour of men. Israel sinned, and the Lord told Moses to take all the chiefs and to expose them unto the Lord over against the sun. The people sins, and the chiefs are exposed over against the sun. They are led forth for investigation, so that they may be tested by the light.

See what is the lot of the leaders of the people; they are not only put on trial for their own offences, they are also compelled to give account for the sins of the people. Perhaps it is their fault that the people offends. Perhaps they did not teach, they did not warn, they did not take the trouble to convict those who had been the first to do wrong, so as to prevent the spread of the malady to others. The performance of these duties is laid upon leaders and teachers. If through their inaction, through their lack of care for the multitude, the people sins, it is they who are exposed, they who are led forth to judgment. Moses, that is the Law of God, charges them with indolence and slackness; upon them shall the anger of the Lord be turned, and it shall cease from the people. If men thought of these things, they would never desire or intrigue for the leadership of the people. Enough for me to be tried for my own offences; enough for me to give account for myself and for my sins. What occasion is there for me to be exposed for the sins of the people as well? To be exposed over against the sun, before which nothing can be hidden, nothing kept dark?

But perhaps there is also some hidden and secret meaning in the passage, with further teaching for us than the common interpretation seems to possess. Possibly this passage also has reference to those princes of the people of whom we spoke a little earlier. For the angels shall come to judgment together with us, and stand for us before the sun of righteousness; perhaps some responsibility for our sins lies with them; perhaps they failed to pay sufficient care and attention to us, so as to call us back from the disease of our sins. Unless there had been some defect in them, which seemed to deserve blame on our account, the language of Scripture would never say to the angel of this or of that church, *Thou hast* — for instance — *some who hold the teaching of Balaam;* or, *Thou hast left thy first love,* or thy patience, or something else of the same kind, as we mentioned above, on account of which in the Apocalypse the angels of each church are blamed. For if, let us say, the angel who has received me, marked with the sign, from God, looks for a reward for my good deeds, it is certain he will also look for censure for those deeds of mine which are not good. That is why they are said to be exposed over against the sun, doubtless to make it clear whether it was through my disobedience, or through the angel's carelessness, that sins were committed which led to my devotion to Baal-phegor, or to some other idol, according to the character of my sin. Now if my chief, I mean the angel assigned to me, did not fail but counselled me to right action, and spoke in my heart, as he did through conscience calling me back from sin; whereas I, despising his advice and scorning the restraint of conscience, rushed headlong into sin, for me there will be the double penalty, both for despising my adviser and for offending in my deed. Nor should you feel any surprise if we say that angels come to judgment together with men, since Scripture says, *The Lord will enter into judgment with the elders of His people and the princes thereof* (Isa. 3:14). Thus the princes are exposed, and, if the fault be in them, God's anger ceases from the people. We should have the keener vigilance over our actions, now that we know that not ourselves alone shall stand before God's judgment seat for our deeds, but that the angels, as our chiefs and guides, shall also be brought into judgment on our account. Therefore it is that the Scripture says, *Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves in all things. For they watch as those who shall give account for your souls* (Heb. 13:17).

[4]

THE SUN, MOON AND STARS CORRESPOND TO CHRIST, THE CHURCH AND THE SAINTS. THESE ILLUMINATE US, NOT ALL EQUALLY BUT EACH IN PROPORTION TO HIS CAPACITY TO RECEIVE ILLUMINATION (In Gen. Hom. I. 7. From the Latin)

As the sun and the moon are said to be the great lights in the firmament of the heaven, so also in us are Christ and the Church. And as God set the stars also in the firmament, let us see too what stars there are in us, that is in the heaven of our heart. Moses is a star within us, which lightens and illuminates us by its influence. So are Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and Isaiah and Jeremiah and Ezekiel and David and Daniel; so all of whom Holy Scripture has testified that they pleased God. For just as star differeth from star in glory, so does each of the saints shed his light on us in proportion to his greatness. And just as the sun and moon shed light on our bodies, so too are our minds enlightened by Christ and by the Church. It is a condition of our being enlightened that we be not spiritually blind. The sun and the moon may pour their light on those whose bodily eyes are blind, but these have no power to receive their light. In like manner Christ bestows His light upon our minds, yet will He only give us real illumination if there is no sort of spiritual blindness to prevent this. And even if this should happen, still the first duty of the blind is to follow Christ, addressing Him and crying out, *Son of David, have mercy upon us* (Matt. 9:27). So from Him may they receive their sight and be able afterwards to be illuminated by the glory of His light.

Yet are not all who have sight illuminated by Christ in equal measure; each has illumination in proportion as he has capacity to receive the power of the light. The eyes of our body do not receive the light of the sun in equal measure, but the higher the levels to which one climbs, the more lofty the view point from which one watches the vista of the sunrise, the larger is one's sense of the power of the sun's light and heat. So it is also with our spirit; the higher and the further it goes in its approach to Christ, the more nearly it exposes itself to the glory of His light, the more finely and splendidly is it illuminated by His radiance. So He himself says by the prophet, *Draw near unto me and I will draw near unto you, saith the Lord* (Zech. 1:3). Again He says, *I am a God at hand and not a God afar off* (Jas. 4:8). Yet we do not all come near to Him in like degree, but each in proportion to his own attainment. Either we come to Him with the multitudes, and he restores us through His parables, simply in order that we may not faint through long fasting on the road. Or else we sit ever at His feet, with a purpose we never relax, our one interest being to hear His word, never troubled over much serving but choosing the good part which shall not be taken from us. Certainly they who so draw near to Him secure a far larger share of His light. But if, like the Apostles, we never leave Him at all, but remain always by His side in all His afflictions, then does He in secret explain to us and open up what He had said to the multitudes, and sheds on us His light in greater radiance. And if a man be even so advanced as to be able to go up with Him to the mount, as Peter and James and John, he shall have the illumination not only of the light of Christ but even of the very Father's voice.

BASIL OF CAESAREA

(c. 330–379)

BORN of a good Christian family and nurtured in distinguished literary circles, Basil attained distinction as monk, bishop, and social ministrant. The fruitage of his monastic experience is manifest in his *Rules*, through which he stresses the superiority of the cenobitic life. His deeply pastoral solicitude is evidenced especially in his episcopal provision for vocational training, orphan's care, and leper houses. These together form the veritable " New City " that Gregory Nazianzen apostrophizes. The following selection is not wholly typical of his preaching, some of which is more socially inspired. It is drawn, however, from his famous homilies on the creation, the *Hexaemeron,* so influential throughout the Middle Ages. MPG 29:3–11; NPNF 2d Ser., VIII, 52–54.

[5]

IN THE BEGINNING GOD MADE THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH (Homily I on the Hexaemeron)

1. It is right that any one beginning to narrate the formation of the world should begin with the good order which reigns in visible things. I am about to speak of the creation of heaven and earth, which was not spontaneous, as some have imagined, but drew its origin from God. What ear is worthy to hear such a tale? How earnestly the soul should prepare itself to receive such high lessons! How pure it should be from carnal affections, how unclouded by worldly disquietudes, how active and ardent in its researches, how eager to find in its surroundings an idea of God which may be worthy of Him!

But before weighing the justice of these remarks, before examining all the sense contained in these few words, let us see who addresses them to us. Because, if the weakness of our intelligence does not allow us to penetrate the depth of the thoughts of the writer, yet we shall be involuntarily drawn to give faith to his words by the force of his authority. Now it is Moses who has composed this history; Moses, who, when still at the breast, is described as exceeding fair; Moses, whom the daughter of Pharaoh adopted; who received from her a royal education, and who had for his teachers the wise men of Egypt; Moses, who disdained the pomp of royalty, and, to share the humble condition of his compatriots, preferred to be persecuted with the people of God rather than to enjoy the fleeting delights of sin; Moses, who received from nature such a love of justice that, even before the leadership of the people of God was committed to him, he was impelled, by a natural horror of evil, to pursue malefactors even to the point of punishing them by death; Moses, who, banished by those whose benefactor he had been, hastened to escape from the tumults of Egypt and took refuge in Ethiopia, living there far from former pursuits, and passing forty years in the contemplation of nature; Moses, finally, who, at the age of eighty, saw God, as far as it is possible for man to see Him; or rather as it had not previously been granted to man to see Him, according to the testimony of God himself, *If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine house, with him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently* *and not in dark speeches* (Num. 12:6–8). It is this man, whom God judged worthy to behold Him, face to face, like the angels, who imparts to us what he has learnt from God. Let us listen then to these words of truth written without the help of the *enticing words of man's wisdom* (I Cor. 2:4) by the dictation of the Holy Spirit; words destined to produce not the applause of those who hear them, but the salvation of those who are instructed by them.

2. *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth* (Gen. 1:1). I stop struck with admiration at this thought. What shall I first say? Where shall I begin my story? Shall I show forth the vanity of the Gentiles? Shall I exalt the truth of our faith? The philosophers of Greece have made much ado to explain nature, and not one of their systems has remained firm and unshaken, each being overturned by its successor. It is vain to refute them; they are sufficient in themselves to destroy one another. Those who were too ignorant to rise to a knowledge of a God, could not allow that an intelligent cause presided at the birth of the Universe; a primary error that involved them in sad consequences. Some had recourse to material principles and attributed the origin of the Universe to the elements of the world. Others imagined that atoms, and indivisible bodies, molecules and ducts, form, by their union, the nature of the visible world. Atoms reuniting or separating, produce births and deaths and the most durable bodies only owe their consistency to the strength of their mutual adhesion: a true spider's web woven by these writers who give to heaven, to earth, and to sea so weak an origin and so little consistency! It is because they knew not how to say *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.* Deceived by their inherent atheism it appeared to them that nothing governed or ruled the universe, and that all was given up to chance. To guard us against this error the writer on the creation, from the very first words, enlightens our understanding with the name of God; *In the beginning God created.* What a glorious order! He first establishes a beginning, so that it might not be supposed that the world never had a beginning. Then he adds *Created* to show that that which was made was a very small part of the power of the Creator. In the same way that the potter, after having made with equal pains a great number of vessels, has not exhausted either his art or his talent; thus the Maker of the Universe, whose creative power, far from being bounded by

one world, could extend to the infinite, needed only the impulse of His will to bring the immensities of the visible world into being. If then the world has a beginning, and if it has been created, enquire who gave it this beginning, and who was the Creator: or rather, in the fear that human reasonings may make you wander from the truth, Moses has anticipated enquiry by engraving in our hearts, as a seal and a safeguard, the awful name of God: *In the beginning God created* — It is He, beneficent Nature, Goodness without measure, a worthy object of love for all beings endowed with reason, the beauty the most to be desired, the origin of all that exists, the source of life, intellectual light, impenetrable wisdom, it is He who *in the beginning created heaven and earth.*

3. Do not then imagine, O man! that the visible world is without a beginning; and because the celestial bodies move in a circular course, and it is difficult for our senses to define the point where the circle begins, do not believe that bodies impelled by a circular movement are, from their nature, without a beginning. Without doubt the circle (I mean the plane figure described by a single line) is beyond our perception, and it is impossible for us to find out where it begins or where it ends; but we ought not on this account to believe it to be without a beginning. Although we are not sensible of it, it really begins as some point where the draughtsman has begun to draw it at a certain radius from the centre. Thus seeing that figures which move in a circle always return upon themselves, without for a single instant interrupting the regularity of their course, do not vainly imagine to yourselves that the world has neither beginning nor end. *For the fashion of this world passeth away* (I Cor. 7:31) and *Heaven and earth shall pass away* (Matt. 24:35). The dogmas of the end, and of the renewing of the world, are announced beforehand in these short words put at the head of the inspired history. *In the beginning God made.* That which was begun in time is condemned to come to an end in time. If there has been a beginning do not doubt of the end. Of what use then are geometry — the calculations of arithmetic — the study of solids and far-famed astronomy, this laborious vanity, if those who pursue them imagine that this visible world is co-eternal with the Creator of all things, with God Himself; if they attribute to this limited world, which has a material body, the same glory as to the incomprehensible and invisible nature; if they cannot conceive

that a whole, of which the parts are subject to corruption and change, must of necessity end by itself submitting to the fate of its parts? But they have become *vain in their imaginations and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools* (Rom. 1:21–22). Some have affirmed that heaven co-exists with God from all eternity; others that it is God Himself without beginning or end, and the cause of the particular arrangement of all things.

4. One day, doubtless, their terrible condemnation will be the greater for all this worldly wisdom, since, seeing so clearly into vain sciences, they have wilfully shut their eyes to the knowledge of the truth. These men who measure the distances of the stars and describe them, both those of the North, always shining brilliantly in our view, and those of the southern pole visible to the inhabitants of the South, but unknown to us; who divide the Northern zone and the circle of the Zodiac into an infinity of parts, who observe with exactitude the course of the stars, their fixed places, their declensions, their return and the time that each takes to make its revolution; these men, I say, have discovered all except one thing: the fact that God is the Creator of the universe, and the just Judge who rewards all the actions of life according to their merit. They have not known how to raise themselves to the idea of the consummation of all things, the consequence of the doctrine of judgment, and to see that the world must change if souls pass from this life to a new life. In reality, as the nature of the present life presents an affinity to this world, so in the future life our souls will enjoy a lot conformable to their new condition. But they are so far from applying these truths, that they do but laugh when we announce to them the end of all things and the regeneration of the age. Since the beginning naturally precedes that which is derived from it, the writer, of necessity, when speaking to us of things which had their origin in time, puts at the head of his narrative these words — *In the beginning God created.*

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JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

(347–407)

JOHN of Antioch not only won the sobriquet "Golden Mouthed," but he also proved himself the early Christian preacher most able to translate his prophetic mandate into a genuine ministry to the popular condition and its social environment. His oratory was equal to the task of calling Antiochian crowds to repentance, even as he identified himself with their human anguish in the face of the emperor's impending vengeance; this, in retaliation for their demolition of the imperial statues. His Christian fervor was sufficient, also, to the strain of his episcopacy in Constantinople, his altercations with Empress Eudochia, and his last years in exile. MPG 49:135–44, 171–72; 57: 463–64; NPNF 1st Ser., IX, 425–31, 451–52; X, 277–78.

A FURTHER THANKSGIVING TO GOD FOR THE CHANGE IN THE LATE MELANCHOLY ASPECT OF AFFAIRS. REMINISCENCE OF THOSE WHO WERE DRAGGED AWAY, AND PUNISHED BECAUSE OF THE SEDITION. EXPOSITION ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CREATION OF MAN, AND OF HIS HAVING RECEIVED A NATURAL LAW. OF THE COMPLETE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF ABSTINENCE FROM OATHS (Homily XIII Concerning the Statues)

1. With the same introduction and prelude that I began yesterday and the day before, I shall begin to-day. Now again I will say, *Blessed be God!* What a day did we see last Wednesday! and what in the present! On that day how heavy was the gloom! How bright the calm of the present! That was the day when that fearful tribunal was set in the city, and shook the hearts of all, and made the day to seem no better than night; not because the beams of the sun were extinguished, but because that despondency and fear darkened your eyes. Wherefore, that we may reap the more pleasure, I wish to relate a few of the circumstances which then occurred; for I perceive that a narrative of these things will be serviceable to you, and to all who shall come afterwards. Besides, to those who have been delivered from shipwreck, it is sweet to remember the waves, and the tempest, and the winds, when they are come into port. And to those who have fallen into sickness, it is an agreeable thing, when the sickness is over, to talk over with others the fevers by which they were nearly brought to the grave. When terrors have passed away, there is a pleasure in relating those terrors; the soul no longer fearing them, but deriving therefrom more cheerfulness. The remembrance of past evils always makes the present prosperity to appear more strikingly.

2. When the greater portion of the city had taken refuge from the fear and danger of that occasion, in secret places, in deserts, and in hollows; terror besetting them in all directions; and the houses were empty of women, and the forum of men, and scarce two or three appeared walking together across it, and even these going about as if they had been animated corpses: at this period, I proceeded to the tribunal of justice, for the purpose of seeing the end of these transactions; and there, beholding the fragments of the city collected together, I marvelled most of all at this, that although a multitude

was around the doors, there was the profoundest silence, as though there had been no man there, all looking upon one another; not one daring to enquire of his neighbour, nor to hear anything from him; for each regarded his neighbour with suspicion; since many already, having been dragged away, beyond all expectation, from the midst of the forum, were now confined within. Thus we all alike looked up to heaven, and stretched out our hands in silence, expecting help from above, and beseeching God to stand by those who were brought to judgment, to soften the hearts of the judges, and to make their sentence a merciful one. And just as when some persons on land, beholding others suffering shipwreck, cannot indeed go near to them, and reach out the hand, and relieve their distress, being kept back from them by the waves; yet away on the shore, with outstretched hands and tears, they supplicate God that He may help the drowning; so there in like manner, did all silently and mentally call upon God, pleading for those at the tribunal, as for men surrounded by the waves, that He would stretch out His hand, and not suffer the vessel to be overwhelmed, nor the judgment of those under trial to end in an utter wreck. Such was the state of things in front of the doors; but when I entered within the court, other sights I saw which were still more awful; soldiers armed with swords and clubs, and strictly keeping the peace for the judges within. For since all the relatives of those under trial, whether wives, or mothers, or daughters, or fathers, stood before the doors of the seat of justice: in order that if any one happened to be led away to execution, yet no one inflamed at the sight of the calamity might raise any tumult or disturbance; the soldiers drove them all afar off; thus preoccupying their mind with fear.

3. One sight there was, more pitiable than all; a mother, and a sister of a certain person, who was among those under trial within, sat at the very vestibule of the court of justice, rolling themselves on the pavement, and becoming a common spectacle to all the bystanders; veiling their faces, and shewing no sense of shame, but that which the urgency of the calamity permitted. No maid servant, nor neighbour, nor female friend, nor any other relative accompanied them. But hemmed in by a crowd of soldiers, alone, and meanly clad, and grovelling on the ground, about the very doors, they were in more pitiable case than those who were undergoing judgment

within, and hearing as they did the voice of the executioners, the strokes of the scourge, the wailing of those who were being scourged, the fearful threats of the judges, they themselves endured, at every scourging, sharper pains than those who were beaten. For since, in the confessions of others, there was a danger of accusations being proved, if they heard any one scourged that he might mention those who were guilty, and uttering cries, they, looking up to heaven, besought God to give the sufferer some strength of endurance, lest the safety of their own relations should be betrayed by the weakness of others, while incapable of sustaining the sharp anguish of the strokes. And again, the same thing occurred as in the case of men who are struggling with a tempest. For just as when they perceive the violence of a wave lifting up its head from afar, and gradually increasing, and ready to overwhelm the vessel, they are almost dead with terror, before it comes near the ship; so also was it with these. If at any time they heard voices, and cries that reached them, they saw a thousand deaths before their eyes, being in terror, lest those who were urged to bear witness, giving way to their torments, should name some one of those who were their own relatives. And thus, one saw tortures both within and without. Those within the executioners were tormenting; these women, the despotic force of nature, and the sympathy of the affections. There was lamentation within, and without! inside, on the part of those who were found guilty, and outside on the part of their relatives. Yea, rather not these only, but their very judges inwardly lamented, and suffered more severely than all the rest; being compelled to take part in so bitter a tragedy.

4. As for me, while I sat and beheld all this, how matrons and virgins, wont to live in seclusion, were now made a common spectacle to all; and how those who were accustomed to lie on a soft couch, had now the pavement for their bed; and how they who had enjoyed so constant an attendance of female servants and eunuchs, and every sort of outward distinction, were now bereft of all these things; and grovelling at the feet of every one, beseeching him to lend help by any means in his power to those who were undergoing examination, and that there might be a kind of general contribution of mercy from all; I exclaimed, in those words of Solomon, *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity* (Ecclus. 1:2). For I saw both this and an-

other oracle fulfilled in every deed, which saith, *All the glory of man is as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower falleth away* (Isa. 40:6–7). For then, indeed, wealth, and nobility, and notoriety, and the patronage of friends, and kinship and all worldly things, were found worthless; the sin, and transgression of the law which had taken place, having put all these succours to flight. And just as the mother of young birds, when the nestlings have been carried away, coming and finding her nest empty, is unable to rescue her captive brood; but by hovering around the hands of the fowler, in this way displays her grief; even so did these women then do, when their children were snatched away from their dwellings, and shut up within, as it were in a net, or a trap. They could not indeed come in and deliver the prisoners, but they manifested their anguish by wallowing on the ground near the very doors; by lamentation and groans; and by endeavouring to approach as near as possible to those who had captured them. These things then beholding, I cast in my mind That Dread Tribunal; and I said within myself, "If now, when men are the judges, neither mother, nor sister, nor father, nor any other person, though guiltless of the deeds which have been perpetrated, can avail to rescue the criminals; who will stand by us when we are judged at The Dread Tribunal of Christ? Who will dare to raise his voice? Who will be able to rescue those who shall be led away to those unbearable punishments?" Notwithstanding they were the first men of the city who were then brought to trial, and the very chief of the nobility, yet they would have been glad if it could be granted them to lose all their possessions, yea, if need were, their liberty itself, so that they might continue to enjoy this present life.

5. But to proceed. The day now hastening to its close, and late evening arriving, and the final sentence of the court being expected, all were in still greater agony, and besought God that He would grant some delay and respite; and incline the soul of the judges to refer the facts that had been investigated to the decision of the Emperor; since perchance some advantage might arise from this reference. Moreover, by the people general supplications were sent up to the Merciful God; imploring that He would save the remnants of the city; and not suffer it entirely to be razed from its foundations. Nor could one see any one joining in this cry but with tears. Nevertheless,

none of these things then moved the judges within, although they heard. One thing only they considered, that there might be a rigid enquiry into the deeds that had been perpetrated.

6. At last having loaded the culprits with chains, and bound them with iron, they sent them away to the prison through the midst of the forum. Men that had kept their studs of horses, who had been presidents of the games, who could reckon up a thousand different offices of distinction which they had held, had their goods confiscated, and seals might be seen placed upon all their doors. Their wives also being ejected from their parents' home, each had literally to play the part of Job's wife. For they went *wandering from house to house and from place to place, seeking a lodging* (Job 2:9, Sept.). And this it was not easy for them to find, every one fearing and trembling to receive, or to render assistance in any way to the relatives of those who were under impeachment. Nevertheless, though such events had happened, the sufferers were patient under all; since they were not deprived of the present life. And neither the loss of wealth, nor dishonour, nor so much public exposure, nor any other matter of that nature, caused them vexation. For the greatness of the calamity, and the circumstance of their having expected still worse things, when they suffered these, had prepared the soul for the exercise of a wise fortitude. And now they learnt, how simple a thing is virtue for us, how easy and expeditious of performance, and that from our neglect only it seems to be laborious. They who before this time could not bear the loss of a little money with meekness, now they were subject to a greater fear, although they had lost all their substance, felt as if they had found a treasure, because they had not lost their lives. So that if the sense of a future hell took possession of us, and we thought of those intolerable punishments, we should not grieve, even though for the sake of the law of God we were to give both our substance, and our bodies and lives too, knowing that we should gain greater things; deliverance from the terrors that are hereafter.

7. Perchance the tragedy of all I have told you, has greatly softened your hearts. Do not however take it amiss. For since I am about to venture upon some more subtle thoughts and require a more sensitive state of mind on your part, I have done this intentionally, in order that by the terror of the description your minds might have shaken off all listlessness, and withdrawn themselves from all

worldly cares, and might with the more readiness convey the force of the things about to be spoken into the depths of your soul.

Sufficiently indeed, then, our discourse of late evinced to you, that a natural law of good and evil is seated within us. But that our proof of it may be more abundantly evident, we will again to-day apply ourselves strenuously to the same subject of discourse. For that God from the beginning, when He formed man, made him capable of discriminating both these, all men make evident. Hence when we sin, we are all ashamed at the presence of our inferiors; and oftentimes a master, on his way to the house of a harlot, if he then perceives any one of his more respectable servants, turns back, reddening with shame, from this untoward path. Again, when others reproach us, fixing on us the names of particular vices, we call it an insult; and if we are aggrieved, we drag those who have done the wrong to the public tribunal. Thus we can understand what vice is, and what virtue is. Wherefore Christ, for the purpose of declaring this, and shewing that He was not introducing a strange law, or one which surpassed our nature, but that which He had of old deposited beforehand in our conscience, after pronouncing those numerous Beatitudes, thus speaks: *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them* (Matt. 7:12). " Many words," saith He, " are not necessary, nor laws of great length, nor a diversity of instruction. Let thine own will be the law. Dost thou wish to receive kindness? Be kind to another. Dost thou wish to receive mercy? Show mercy to thy neighbour. Dost thou wish to be applauded? Applaud another. Dost thou wish to be beloved? Exercise love. Dost thou wish to enjoy the first rank? First concede that place to another. Become thyself the judge, thyself the lawgiver of thine own life." And again: *Do not to another what thou hatest* (Tobit 4:16). By the latter precept, he would induce to a departure from iniquity; by the former, to the exercise of virtue. *Do not thou to another,* he saith, *what thou hatest.* Dost thou hate to be insulted? Do not insult another. Dost thou hate to be envied? Envy not another. Dost thou hate to be deceived? Do not deceive another. And, in a word, in all things, if we hold fast these two precepts, we shall not need any other instruction. For the knowledge of virtue He hath implanted in our nature; but the practice of it and the correction He hath entrusted to our moral choice.

8. Perhaps what is thus said, is obscure; wherefore I will again

endeavour to make it more plain. In order to know that it is a good thing to exercise temperance, we need no words, nor instruction; for we ourselves have the knowledge of it in our nature, and there is no necessity for labour or fatigue in going about and enquiring whether temperance is good and profitable; but we all acknowledge this with one consent, and no man is in doubt as to this virtue. So also we account adultery to be an evil thing, and neither is there here any need of trouble or learning, that the wickedness of this sin may be known; but we are all self-taught in such judgments; and we applaud virtue, though we do not follow it; as, on the other hand, we hate vice, though we practise it. And this hath been an exceeding good work of God; that He hath made our conscience, and our power of choice already, and before the action, claim kindred with virtue, and be at enmity with wickedness.

9. As I said then, the knowledge of each of these things resides within the conscience of all men, and we require no teacher to instruct us in these things; but the regulation of our conduct is left to our choice, and earnestness, and efforts. And why was this? but because if He had made everything to be of nature, we should have departed uncrowned and destitute of reward; and even as the brutes, who receive no reward nor praise for those advantages which they have naturally, so neither should we enjoy any of these things; for natural advantages are not the praise and commendation of those who have them, but of the Giver. For this reason, then, He did not commit all to nature; and again, He did not suffer our will to undertake the whole burden of knowledge, and of right regulation; lest it should despair at the labour of virtue. But conscience suggests to it what ought to be done; and it contributes its own exertions for the accomplishment. That it is a good thing to be temperate, we all understand without difficulty; for the knowledge is of nature; but we should not be able without difficulty, without bridling lust, and employing much exertion, to practise the rule of temperance; for this does not come to us by nature as the knowledge does, but requires also a willing mind and earnestness. And not only in this respect has He made the burden lighter for us, but also in another way again, by letting even some good dispositions exist naturally within us. For we are all naturally disposed to feel indignation along with those who are contemptuously treated, (whence it arises that we become the

enemies of those who are insolent, though we ourselves may have suffered no part of the grievance,) and to sympathize in the pleasure of those who enjoy assistance and protection; and we are overcome by the calamities of others, as well as by mutual tenderness. For although calamitous events may seem to induce a certain pusillanimity, we entertain nevertheless a common fondness for each other. And to this effect a certain wise man speaks significantly: *Every animal loveth his like, and man his neighbour* (Ecclus. 13:19).

10. But God hath provided many other instructors for us besides conscience; viz., fathers for children, masters for servants, husbands for wives, teachers for pupils, lawgivers and judges for those who are to be governed, and friends for friends. And frequently too we gain no less from enemies than friends; for when the former reproach us with our offences, they stir us up, even against our will, to the amendment of them. So many teachers hath He set over us, in order that the discovery of what is profitable, and the regulation of our conduct, might be easy to us, the multitude of those things which urge us on toward it not permitting us to fall away from what is expedient for us. For although we should despise parents, yet while we fear magistrates, we shall in any case be more submissive than otherwise. And though we may set them at nought when we sin, we can never escape the rebuke of conscience: and if we dishonour and repel this, yet whilst fearing the opinion of the many, we shall be the better for it. And though we are destitute of shame with regard to this, the fear of the laws will press on us so as to restrain us, however reluctantly.

11. Thus fathers and teachers take the young in hand, and bring them into order; and lawgivers and magistrates, those who are grown up. And servants, as being more inclined to listlessness, in addition to what has been previously mentioned, have their masters to constrain them to temperance; and wives have their husbands. And many are the walls which environ our race on all sides, lest it should too easily slide away, and fall into wickedness. Beside all these too, sicknesses and calamities instruct us. For poverty restrains, and losses sober us, and danger subdues us, and there are many other things of this sort. Doth neither father, nor teacher, nor prince, nor lawgiver, nor judge make thee fear? Doth no friend move thee to shame, nor enemy sting thee? Doth no master chastise? Doth no hus-

band instruct? Doth no conscience correct thee? Still, when bodily sickness comes, it often sets all right; and a loss has made the audacious man to become gentle. And what is more than this, heavy misfortunes, which befall not only ourselves but others too, are often of great advantage to us; and we who ourselves suffered nothing, yet beholding others enduring punishment, have been no less sobered by it than they.

12. And with respect to right deeds, any one may see that this happens; for as when the bad are punished others become better, so whenever the good achieve any thing right, many are urged onward to a similar zeal: a thing which hath also taken place with respect to the avoiding of oaths. For many persons, observing that others had laid aside the evil practice of oaths, took a pattern from their diligence, and got the better of the sin; wherefore we are the more disposed to touch again on the subject of this admonition. For let no one tell me that " many " have accomplished this; this is not what is desired, but that " all " should do so; and until I see this I cannot take breath. That Shepherd had a hundred sheep, and yet when one of them had wandered away, he took no account of the safety of the ninety and nine, until he found the one that was lost, and restored it again to the flock (cf. Matt. 18:12–13). Seest thou not that this also happens with respect to the body; for if by striking against any obstacle, we have only turned back a nail, the whole body sympathizes with the member. Say not this; that only a certain few have failed; but consider this point, that these few being unreformed, will corrupt many others. Although there was but one who had committed fornication among the Corinthians, yet Paul so groaned as if the whole city were lost. And very reasonably, for he knew that if that member were not chastened, the disease progressing onward would at length attack all the rest. I saw, but lately, in the court of justice, those distinguished men bound and conducted through the forum; and while some were wondering at this extraordinary degradation, others said there was nothing to wonder at; for that, where there is matter of treason, rank must go for nothing. Is it not then much more true that rank must be of no avail where is impiety?

13. Thinking therefore of these things, let us arouse ourselves; for if ye bring not your own endeavours to the task, every thing on our part is to no purpose. And why so? Because it is not with the

office of teaching, as it is with other arts. For the silversmith, when he has fabricated a vessel of any kind, and laid it aside, will find it on the morrow just as he left it. And the worker in brass, and the stone-cutter, and every other artificer, will each again take his own work in hand, whatever it is, just in the state he quitted it. But it is not so with us, but altogether the reverse; for we have not lifeless vessels to forge, but reasonable souls. Therefore we do not find you such as we leave you, but when we have taken you, and with manifold labour moulded, reformed you and increased your ardour on your departing from this place, the urgency of business, besetting you on every side, again perverts you, and causes us increased difficulty. Therefore, I supplicate and beseech you to put your own hand to the work; and when ye depart hence, to shew the same earnest regard for your own safety, that I have here shewn for your amendment.

14. Oh! that it were possible that I could perform good works as your substitute, and that you could receive the rewards of those works! Then I would not give you so much trouble. But how can I do this? The thing is impossible; for to every man will He render according to his own works. Wherefore as a mother, when she beholds her son in a fever, while she witnesses his sufferings from choking and inflammation, frequently bewails him, and says to him, " O my son, would that I could sustain thy fever, and draw off its flame upon myself! " so now I say, Oh! that by labouring as your substitute, I could do good works for you all! But no, this is not to be done. But of his own doings must each man give the account, and one cannot see one person suffer punishment in the room of another. For this reason I am pained and mourn, that on That Day, when ye are called to judgment, I shall not be able to assist you, since, to say the truth, no such confidence of speech with God belongs to me. But even if I had much confidence, I am not holier than Moses, or more righteous than Samuel; of whom it is said, that though they had attained to so great virtue, they could not in any way avail to assist the Jews; inasmuch as that people had given themselves over to excessive negligence. Since, then, from our own works we shall be punished or saved; let us endeavour, I beseech you, in conjunction with all the other precepts, to fulfill this one; that, finally departing this life with a favourable hope, we may obtain those good things which are prom-

ised, through the grace and lovingkindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, through Whom and with Whom, to the Father, with the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and ever, world without end. Amen.

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THIS HOMILY WAS DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF THE PREFECT ENTERING THE CHURCH, FOR THE PURPOSE OF PACIFYING THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE, IN CONSEQUENCE OF A RUMOUR OF AN INTENDED SACK HAVING BEEN ANNOUNCED TO HIM, WHEN ALL WERE MEDITATING FLIGHT. IT TREATS ALSO ON THE SUBJECT OF AVOIDING OATHS, AND ON THE WORDS OF THE APOSTLE, "PAUL, A PRISONER OF JESUS CHRIST." Philem. 1:1 (Homily XVI Concerning the Statues)

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17. And now, it is time that you should be teachers and guides of others; that friends should undertake to instruct and lead on their neighbours; servants their fellow-servants; and youths those of their own age. What if any one had promised thee a single piece of gold for every man who was reformed, wouldest thou not then have used every exertion, and been all day long sitting by them, persuading and exhorting? Yet now God promises thee not one piece of gold, nor ten, or twenty, or a hundred, or a thousand; no, nor the whole earth, for thy labours, but He gives thee that which is greater than all the world, the kingdom of heaven; and not only this, but also another thing besides it. And what kind of thing is that? *He who taketh forth the precious from the vile,* saith He, *shall be as my mouth* (Jer. 15:19). What can be equal to this in point of honour or security? What kind of excuse or pardon can be left to those, who after so great a promise neglect their neighbour's safety? Now if you see a blind man falling into a pit, you stretch forth a hand, and think it a disgraceful thing to overlook one who is about to perish. But daily beholding all thy brethren precipitated into the wicked custom of oaths,

dost thou not dare even to utter a word? Thou hast spoken once, perhaps, and he hath not heard. Speak therefore twice, and thrice, and as often as it may be, till thou hast persuaded him. Every day God is addressing us, and we do not hear; and yet He does not leave off speaking. Do thou, therefore, imitate this tender care towards thy neighbour. For this reason it is that we are placed with one another; that we inhabit cities, and that we meet together in churches, in order that we may bear one another's burdens, that we may correct one another's sins. And in the same manner as persons inhabiting the same shop, carry on a separate traffic, yet put all afterwards into the common fund, so also let us act. Whatever advantages each man is able to confer upon his neighbour, let him not grudge, nor shrink from doing it, but let there be some such kind of spiritual commerce, and reciprocity; in order that having deposited every thing in the common store, and obtained great riches, and procured a large treasure, we may be all together partakers of the kingdom of heaven; through the grace and lovingkindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, by Whom and with Whom, to the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be glory, both now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

[8]

"THEN CERTAIN OF THE SCRIBES AND PHARISEES ANSWERED HIM, SAYING, MASTER, WE WOULD SEE A SIGN FROM THEE. BUT HE ANSWERED AND SAID, AN EVIL AND ADULTEROUS GENERATION SEEKETH AFTER A SIGN, AND THERE SHALL NO SIGN BE GIVEN TO IT, BUT THE SIGN OF THE PROPHET JONAS" (Homily XLIII. On Matt. 12:38, 39)

* * *

7. Wherefore, to proceed, together with the punishment let me speak also of the shame. For as the Jews shall then be condemned by the Ninevites, so we too by many that seem beneath us now.

Let us imagine then how great the mockery, how great the condemnation; let us imagine, and cast some foundation at length, some door of repentance.

To myself I say these things, to myself first I give this advice, and let no one be angry, as though he were condemned. Let us enter upon the narrow way. How long shall it be luxury? how long sloth? Have we not had enough of indolence, mirth, procrastination? Will it not be the same over again, feasting, and surfeiting, and expense, and wealth, and acquisitions, and buildings? And what is the end? Death. What is the end? Ashes, and dust, and coffins, and worms.

Let us show forth then a new kind of life. Let us make earth, heaven; let us hereby show the Greeks, of how great blessings they are deprived. For when they behold in us good conversation, they will look upon the very face of the kingdom of Heaven. Yea, when they see us gentle, pure from wrath, from evil desire, from envy, from covetousness, rightly fulfilling all our other duties, they will say, " If the Christians are become angels here, what will they be after their departure hence? if where they are strangers they shine so bright, how great will they become when they shall have won their native land! " Thus they too will be reformed, and the word of godliness " will have free course," not less than in the apostles' times. For if they, being twelve, converted entire cities and countries; were we all to become teachers by our careful conduct, imagine how high our cause will be exalted. For not even a dead man raised so powerfully attracts the Greek, as a person practising self-denial. At that indeed he will be amazed, but by this he will be profited. That is done, and is past away; but this abides, and is constant culture to his soul.

Let us take heed therefore to ourselves, that we may gain them also. I say nothing burdensome. I say not, do not marry. I say not, forsake cities, and withdraw thyself from public affairs; but being engaged in them, show virtue. Yea, and such as are busy in the midst of cities, I would fain have more approved than such as have occupied the mountains. Wherefore? Because great is the profit thence arising. *For no man lighteth a candle, and setteth it under the bushel* (Matt. 5:15). Therefore I would that all the candles were set upon the candlestick, that the light might wax great.

Let us kindle then His fire; let us cause them that are sitting in darkness to be delivered from their error. And tell me not, " I have a wife, and children belonging to me, and am master of a household, and cannot duly practise all this." For though thou hadst none of these, yet if thou be careless, all is lost; though thou art encompassed with all these, yet if thou be earnest, thou shalt attain unto virtue. For there is but one thing that is wanted, the preparation of a generous mind; and neither age, nor poverty, nor wealth, nor reverse of fortune, nor anything else, will be able to impede thee. Since in fact both old and young, and men having wives, and bringing up children, and working at crafts, and serving as soldiers, have duly performed all that is enjoined. For so Daniel was young, and Joseph a slave, and Aquila wrought at a craft, and the woman who sold purple was over a workshop, and another was the keeper of a prison, and another a centurion, as Cornelius; and another in ill health, as Timothy; and another a runaway, as Onesimus; but nothing proved an hindrance to any of these, but all were approved, both men and women, both young and old, both slaves and free, both soldiers and people.

Let us not then make vain pretexts, but let us provide a thoroughly good mind, and whatsoever we may be, we shall surely attain to virtue, and arrive at the good things to come; by the grace and love towards man of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom be unto the Father, together with the Holy Ghost, glory, might, honour, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.

AUGUSTINE, BISHOP OF HIPPO

(354–430)

AUGUSTINE is so catholic, both his perceptions of the human quandary and in his interpretation of the cosmic role played by Christ's saving Church, as to defy ready analysis of his significance. Clearly, one who could so reveal the soul's yearning in his *Confessions,* even as he dramatized the Lord's inexorable victory in *The City of God,* would be expected to preach the redeeming Gospel to the nations. Augustine was abundantly able to do so. From a plethora of sermons, selections have been made in terms of his evangelical qualities, homiletic versatility, and all-round appeal to the Christian believer. The first three selections are in the edition and translation of MPL 38: 372–74, 584–89, 796–97; NPNF 1st Ser., VI, 271–72, 408–11, 543–44. The last three are translated by Miss Caroline Warner from MPL 38:966–67, 971–72, 1058–60, and 1475–78.

ON THAT THAT IS WRITTEN IN THE GOSPEL, MATT. 5:16, "EVEN SO LET YOUR LIGHT SHINE BEFORE MEN, THAT THEY MAY SEE YOUR GOOD WORKS, AND GLORIFY YOUR FATHER WHO IS IN HEAVEN": AND CONTRARIWISE, 6:1, "TAKE HEED THAT YE DO NOT YOUR RIGHTEOUSNESS BEFORE MEN, TO BE SEEN OF THEM" (Sermon IV [LIV Ben.] on New Testament Lessons)

1. It is wont to perplex many persons, Dearly beloved, that our Lord Jesus Christ in His Evangelical Sermon, after He had first said, *Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven* (Matt. 5:16); said afterwards, *Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men to be seen of them* (Matt. 6:1). For so the mind of him who is weak in understanding is disturbed, is desirous to obey both precepts, and distracted by diverse, and contradictory commandments. For a man can as little obey but one master, if he give contradictory orders, as he can serve two masters, which the Saviour Himself hath testified in the same Sermon to be impossible. What then must the mind that is in this hesitation do, when it thinks that it cannot, and yet is afraid not to obey? For if he set his good works in the light to be seen of men, that he may fulfill the command, *Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven;* he will think himself involved in guilt because he has done contrary to the other precept which says, *Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men to be seen of them.* And again, if fearing and avoiding this, he conceal his good works, he will think that he is not obeying Him who commands, saying, *Let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works.*

2. But he who is of a right understanding, fulfills both, and will obey in both the Universal Lord of all, who would not condemn the slothful servant, if he commanded those things which could by no means be done. For give ear to *Paul, the servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, separated unto the Gospel of God* (Rom. 1:1), both doing and teaching both duties. See how his *light shineth before men, that they may see his good works. We commend ourselves,* saith he, *to every man's conscience in the sight of God* (II Cor. 4:2). And again, *For we provide things honest, not only in the*

sight of God, but also in the sight of men (II Cor. 8:21). And again, *Please all men in all things, even as I please all men in all things* (I Cor. 10:33). See, on the other hand, how he takes heed, that he *do not his righteousness before men to be seen of them. Let every man,* saith he, *prove his own work, and then shall he have glorying in himself, and not in another* (Gal. 6:4). And again, *For our glorying is this, the testimony of our conscience* (II Cor. 1:12). And that, than which nothing is plainer, *If,* saith he, *I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ* (Gal. 1:10). But lest any of those who are perplexed about the precepts of our Lord Himself as contradictory, should much more raise a question against His Apostle and say, How sayest thou, *Please all men in all things, even as I also please all men in all things:* and yet also sayest, *If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ?* May the Lord Himself be with us, who spake also in His servant and Apostle, and open to us His will, and give us the means of obeying it.

3. The very words of the Gospel carry with them their own explanation; nor do they shut the mouths of those who hunger, seeing they feed the hearts of them that knock. The intention of a man's heart, its direction and its aim, is what is to be regarded. For if he who wishes his good works to be seen of men, sets before men his own glory and advantage, and seeks for this in the sight of men, he does not fulfill either of those precepts which the Lord has given as touching this matter; because He has at once looked to *doing his righteousness before men to be seen of them;* and his light has not so shined before men that they should see his good works, and glorify His Father which is in heaven. It was himself he wished to be glorified, not God; he sought his own advantage, and loved not the Lord's will. Of such the Apostle says, *For all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's* (Phil. 2:21). Accordingly, the sentence was not finished at the words, *Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works;* but there was immediately subjoined why this was to be done; *that they may glorify your Father which is in heaven;* that when a man who does good works is seen of men, he may have only the intention of the good work in his own conscience, but may have no intention of being known, save for the praise of God, for their advantage-sake to whom he is thus made known; for to them this advantage comes, that God who has given this power to

man begins to be well-pleasing to them; and so they do not despair, but that the same power might be vouchsafed to themselves also if they would. And so He did not conclude the other precept, *Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men,* otherwise than in the words, *to be seen of them;* nor did He add in this case, *that they may glorify your Father which is in heaven,* but rather, *otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven.* For by this He shows us, that they who are such, as He will not have His faithful ones to be, seek a reward in this very thing, that they are seen of men — that it is in this they place their good — in this that they delight the vanity of their heart — in this is their emptiness, and inflation, their swelling, and wasting away. For why was it not sufficient to say, *Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men,* but that he added, *that ye may be seen of them,* except because there are some who do their *righteousness before men;* not that they may be seen of them, but that the works themselves may be seen; and the Father which is in heaven, who hath vouchsafed to endow with these gifts the ungodly whom He had justified, may be glorified?

4. They who are such, neither do they account their righteousness as their own, but His, by the faith of whom they live (whence also the Apostle says, *That I may win Christ, and be found in Him, not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is of the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith* (Phil. 3:8, 9); and in another place, *That we may be the righteousness of God in Him* (II Cor. 5:21). Whence also he finds fault with the Jews in these words, *Being ignorant of God's righteousness, and wishing to establish their own righteousness, they have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God* (Rom. 10:3). Whosoever then wish their good works to be so seen of men, that He may be glorified from whom they have received those things which are seen in them, and that thereby those very persons who see them, may through the dutifulness of faith be provoked to imitate the good, their light shines truly before men, because there beams forth from them the light of charity; theirs is no mere empty fume of pride; and in the very act they take precautions, that they do not their righteousness before men to be seen of them, in that they do not reckon that righteousness as their own, nor do they therefore do it that they may be seen; but that He may be made known, who is praised in them that are justified,

that so He may bring to pass in him that praises that which is praised in others, that is, that He may make him that praises to be himself the object of praise. Observe the Apostle too, how that when he had said, *Please all men in all things, as I also please all men in all things* (I Cor. 10:33); he did not stop there, as if he had placed in that, namely, the pleasing men, the end of his intention; for else he would have said falsely, *If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ;* but he subjoined immediately why it was that he pleased men; *Not seeking,* saith he, *mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved.* So he at once did not please men for his own profit, lest he should not be *the servant of Christ;* and he did please men for their salvation's sake, that he might be a faithful Minister of Christ; because for him his own conscience in the sight of God was enough, and from him there shined forth in the sight of men something which they might imitate.

[10]

ON THE WORDS OF THE GOSPEL, MARK 8:34, " IF ANY MAN WOULD COME AFTER ME, LET HIM DENY HIMSELF," ETC. AND ON THE WORDS I JOHN 2:15, " IF ANY MAN LOVE THE WORLD, THE LOVE OF THE FATHER IS NOT IN HIM "

(Sermon XLVI [XCVI Ben.] on New Testament Lessons)

1. Hard and grievous does that appear which the Lord hath enjoined, that *whosoever will come after Him, must deny himself* (Mark 8:34). But what He enjoineth is not hard or grievous, who aideth us that what He enjoineth may be done. For both is that true which is said to Him in the Psalm, *Because of the words of Thy lips I have kept hard ways* (Ps. 17:4; D. 16:4). And that is true which He said Himself, *My yoke is easy, and My burden is light* (Matt. 11:30). For whatsoever is hard in what is enjoined us, charity makes easy. We know what great things love itself can do. Very often is this love even abominable and impure; but how great hardships have men suffered, what indignities and intolerable things have they endured, to attain to the object of their love? whether it be a lover of money

who is called covetous; or a lover of honour, who is called ambitious; or a lover of beautiful women, who is called voluptuous. And who could enumerate all sorts of loves? Yet consider what labour all lovers undergo, and are not conscious of their labours; and then does any such one most feel labour, when he is hindered from labour. Since then the majority of men are such as their loves are, and that there ought to be no other care for the regulation of our lives, than the choice of that which we ought to love; why dost thou wonder, if he who loves Christ, and who wishes to follow Christ, for the love of Him denies himself? For if by loving himself man is lost, surely by denying himself he is found.

2. The first destruction of man, was the love of himself. For if he had not loved himself, if he had preferred God to himself, he would have been willing to be ever subject unto God; and would not have been turned to the neglect of His will, and the doing his own will. For this is to love one's self, to wish to do one's own will. Prefer to this God's will; learn to love thyself by not loving thyself. For that ye may know that it is a vice to love one's self, the Apostle speaks thus, *For men shall be lovers of their own selves* (II Tim. 3:2). And can he who loves himself have any sure trust in himself? No; for he begins to love himself by forsaking God, and is driven away from himself to love those things which are beyond himself; to such a degree that when the aforesaid Apostle had said, *Men shall be lovers of their own selves,* he subjoined immediately, *lovers of money.* Already thou seest that thou art without. Thou hast begun to love thyself: stand in thyself if thou canst. Why goest thou without? Hast thou, as being rich in money, become a lover of money? Thou hast begun to love what is without thee, thou hast lost thyself. When a man's love then goes even away from himself to those things which are without, he begins to share the vanity of his vain desires, and prodigal as it were to spend his strength. He is dissipated, exhausted, without resource or strength, he feeds swine; and wearied with this office of feeding swine, he at last remembers what he was and says, *How many hired servants of my Father's are eating bread, and I here perish with hunger!* (Luke 15:17). But when the son in the parable says this, what is said of him, who had squandered all he had on harlots, who wished to have in his own power what was being well kept for him with his father; he wished to have it at his own disposal,

he squandered all, he was reduced to indigence: what is said of him? *And when he returned to himself.* If *he returned to himself,* he had gone away from himself. Because he had fallen from himself, had gone away from himself, he returns first to himself, that he may return to that state from which he had fallen away by falling from himself. For as by falling away from himself, he remained in himself; so by returning to himself, he ought not to remain in himself, lest he again go away from himself. Returning then to himself, that he might not remain in himself, what did he say? *I will arise and go to my Father* (Luke 15:18). See, whence he had fallen away from himself, he had fallen away from his Father; he had fallen away from himself, he had gone away from himself to those things which are without. He returns to himself, and goes to his Father, where he may keep himself in all security. If then he had gone away from himself, let him also in returning to himself, from whom he had gone away, that he may *go to his Father,* deny himself. What is *deny himself?* Let him not trust in himself, let him feel that he is a man, and have respect to the words of the prophet, *Cursed is every one that putteth his hope in man* (Jer. 17:5). Let him withdraw himself from himself, but not towards things below. Let him withdraw himself from himself, that he may cleave unto God. Whatever of good he has, let him commit to Him by whom he was made; whatever of evil he has, he has made it for himself. The evil that is in him God made not; let him destroy what himself has done, who has been thereby undone. *Let him deny himself,* He saith, *and take up his cross, and follow Me.*

3. And whither must the Lord be followed? Whither He is gone, we know; but a very few days since we celebrated the solemn memorial of it. For he has risen again, and ascended into heaven; thither must He be followed. Undoubtedly we must not despair of it, because He hath Himself promised us, not because man can do anything. Heaven was far away from us, before that our Head had gone into heaven. But now why should we despair, if we are members of that Head? Thither then must He be followed. And who would be unwilling to follow Him to such an abode? Especially seeing that we are in so great travail on earth with fears and pains. Who would be unwilling to follow Christ thither, where is supreme felicity, supreme peace, perpetual security? Good is it to follow Him thither: but we must see by what way we are to follow. For the Lord Jesus did not

say the words we are engaged in, when He had now risen from the dead. He had not yet suffered, He had still to come to the Cross, had to come to His dishonouring, to the outrages, the scourging, the thorns, the wounds, the mockeries, the insults, Death. Rough as it were is the way; it makes thee to be slow; thou hast no mind to follow. But follow on. Rough is the way which man has made for himself, but what Christ hath trodden in His passage is worn smooth. For who would not wish to go to exaltation? Elevation is pleasing to all; but humility is the step to it. Why dost thou put out thy foot beyond thee? Thou hast a mind to fall, not to ascend. Begin by the step, and so thou hast ascended. This step of humility those two disciples were loth to have an eye to, who said, *Lord, bid that one of us may sit at Thy right hand, and the other at the left in Thy kingdom* (Mark 10:37). They sought for exaltation, they did not see the step. But the Lord showed them the step. For what did He answer them? *Ye who seek the hill of exaltation, can ye drink the cup of humiliation?* And therefore He does not say simply, *Let him deny himself, and follow Me* howsoever: but He said more, *Let him take up his cross, and follow Me.*

4. What is, *Let him take up his cross?* Let him bear whatever trouble he has; so let him follow Me. For when he shall begin to follow Me in conformity to My life and precepts, he will have many to contradict him, he will have many to hinder him, he will have many to dissuade him, and that from among those who are even as it were Christ's companions. They who hindered the blind men from crying out were walking with Christ. Whether therefore they be threats or caresses, or whatsoever hindrances there be, if thou wish to follow, turn them into thy cross, bear it, carry it, do not give way beneath it. There seems to be an exhortation to martyrdom in these words of the Lord. If there be persecution, ought not all things to be despised in consideration of Christ? The world is loved; but let Him be preferred by whom the world was made. Great is the world; but greater is He by whom the world was made. Fair is the world; but fairer is He by whom the world was made. Sweet is the world; but sweeter is He by whom the world was made. Evil is the world; and good is He by whom the world was made. How shall I be able to explain and unravel what I have said? May God help me? For what I have said? what have ye applauded? See, it is but a question, and yet ye

have already applauded. How is the world evil, if He by whom the world was made is good? Did not God make all things, *and behold they were very good?* Does not Scripture at each several work of creation testify that God made it good, by saying, *And God saw that it was good,* and at the end summed them all up together thus how that God had made them, *And behold they were very good* (Gen. 1:31)?

5. How then is the world evil, and He good by whom the world was made? How? *Since the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not* (John 1:10). The world was made by Him, the heaven and earth and all things that are in them: *the world knew Him not,* the lovers of the world; the lovers of the world and the despisers of God; this *world knew Him not.* So then the world is evil, because they are evil who prefer the world to God. And He is good who made the world, the heaven, and earth, and sea, and themselves who love the world. For this only, that they love the world and do not love God, He made not in them. But themselves, all that appertains to their nature He made; what appertains to guiltiness, He made not. This is that I said a little while ago, " Let man efface what he has made, and so will he be well-pleasing to Him who made Him."

6. For there is among men themselves a good world also; but one that has been made good from being evil. For the whole world if you take the word " world " for men, putting aside (what we call the world) the heaven and earth and all things that in them are; if you take the world for men, the whole world did he who first sinned make evil. The whole mass was corrupted in the root. God made man good; so runs the Scripture, *God made man upright; and men themselves found out many cogitations* (Eccles. 7:29; D. 30). Run from these " many " to One, gather up thy scattered things into one; flow on together, fence thyself in, abide with One; go not to many things. There is blessedness. But we have flowed away, have gone on to perdition: we were all born with sin, and to that sin wherein we were born have we too added by our evil living, and the whole world has become evil. But Christ came, and He chose that which He made, not what He found; for He found all evil, and by His grace He made them good. And so was made another " world "; and the " world " now persecutes the " world."

7. What is the " world " which persecutes? That of which it is said to us, *Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world.*

If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, is the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, which is not of the Father, but of the world. And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever (I John 2:15 f.), even as God abideth for ever. Lo! I have spoken of two " worlds," the " world " which persecutes, and that which it persecutes. What is the " world " which persecutes? *All that is the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, which is not of the Father, but of the world;* and *the world passeth away.* Lo, this is the " world " which persecutes. What is the " world " which it persecutes? *He that doeth the will of God abideth for ever,* even as God abideth for ever.

8. But see, that which persecutes is called the " world "; let us prove whether that also which suffers persecution is called " the world." What! Art thou deaf to the voice of Christ who speaketh, or rather to Holy Scriptures which testifieth, *God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself* (II Cor. 5:19)? *If the world hate you, know ye that it first hated Me* (John 15:18). See, the " world " hates. What does it hate but the " world "? What " world "? " God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself." The condemned " world " persecutes; the reconciled " world " suffers persecution. The condemned " world " is all that is without the Church; the reconciled " world " is the Church. For He says, *The Son of Man came not to judge the world, but that the world through Him may be saved* (John 3:17).

9. Now in this world, holy, good, reconciled, saved, or rather to be saved, and now saved in hope, *for we are saved in hope* (Rom. 8:24); in this world, I say, that is in the Church which wholly follows Christ, He hath said as of universal application, *Whosoever will follow Me, let him deny himself.* For it is not that the virgins ought to give ear to this, and the married women ought not; or that the widows ought, and the women who still have their husbands ought not; or that monks ought, and the married men ought not; or that the clergy ought, and the laymen ought not: but let the whole Church, the whole body, all the members, distinguished and distributed throughout their several offices, follow Christ. Let the whole Church follow Him, that only Church, let the dove follow Him, let the spouse follow Him, let her who has been redeemed and endowed with the

Bridegroom's blood, follow Him. There virgin purity hath its place; there widowed continence hath its place; married chastity there hath its place; but adultery hath no place of its own there; and no place there hath lasciviousness, unlawful and meet for punishment. But let these several members which have their place there, in their kind and place and measure, " follow Christ "; let them " deny themselves "; that is, let them presume nothing of themselves: let them " take up their cross," that is, let them in the world endure for Christ's sake whatever the world may bring upon them. Let them love Him, who Alone doth not deceive, who Alone is not deceived, Alone deceiveth not; let them love Him, for that is true which He doth promise. But because He doth not give at once, faith wavers. Hold on, persevere, endure, bear delay and thou hast borne the cross.

10. Let not the virgin say, " I shall alone be there." For Mary shall not be there alone, but the widow Anna shall be there also. Let not the woman which hath an husband say, " The widow will be there, not I "; for it is not that Anna will be there, and Susanna not be there. But by all means let them who would be there prove themselves hereby, that they who have here a lower place envy not, but love in others the better place. For, for instance, my Brethren, that ye may understand me; one man has chosen a married life, another a life of continence; if he who has chosen the married life, has adulterous lusts, he has " looked back "; he has lusted after that which is unlawful. He too who would wish afterwards to return from continence to a married life, has " looked back "; he has chosen what is in itself lawful, yet he has " looked back." Is marriage then to be condemned? No. Marriage is not to be condemned; but see whither he had come who has chosen it. He had already got before it. When he was living as a young man in voluptuousness, marriage was before him; he was making his way towards it; but when he had chosen continence, marriage was behind him. *Remember,* saith the Lord, *Lot's wife* (Luke 17:32). Lot's wife, by looking behind, remained motionless. To whatever point then any one has been able to reach, let him fear to " look back " from thence; and let him walk in the way, let him " follow Christ." *Forgetting those things which are behind, and stretching forth unto those things which are before, let him by an earnest inward intention press on toward the prize of the calling of God in Christ Jesus* (Phil. 3:13, 14). Let those that are mar-

ried regard the unmarried as above themselves; let them acknowledge that they are better; let them in them love what themselves have not; and let them in them love Christ.

[11]

ON THE WORDS OF THE GOSPEL, JOHN 21:16. " SIMON, SON OF JOHN, LOVEST THOU ME? " (Sermon XCVI [CXLVI Ben.] on New Testament Lessons)

1. Ye have observed, beloved, that in to-day's lesson it was said by the Lord to Peter in a question, *Lovest thou Me?* To whom he answered, *Thou knowest, Lord, that I love thee.* This was done a second, and a third time; and at each several reply, the Lord said, *Feed My lambs* (John 21:15). To Peter did Christ commend His lambs to be fed, who fed even Peter himself. For what could Peter do for the Lord, especially now that He had an Immortal Body, and was about to ascend into heaven? As though He had said to him, '*Lovest thou Me?*' Herein show that thou lovest Me, '*Feed My sheep.*' So then, Brethren, do ye with obedience hear that ye are Christ's sheep; seeing that we on our part with fear hear, *Feed My sheep?* If we feed with fear, and fear for the sheep; these sheep how ought they to fear for themselves? Let then carefulness be our portion, obedience yours; pastoral watchfulness our portion, the humility of the flock yours. Although we too who seem to speak to you from a higher place, are with fear beneath your feet; forasmuch as we know how perilous an account must be rendered of this, as it were, exalted seat. Wherefore, dearly beloved, Catholic plants, Members of Christ, think What a Head ye have! Children of God, think What a Father ye have found. Christians, think What an Inheritance is promised you. Not such as on earth cannot be possessed by children, save when their parents are dead. For no one on earth possesses a father's inheritance, save when he is dead. But we whilst our Father liveth shall possess what He shall give; for that our Father cannot die. I add more, I say more, and say the truth; our Father will Himself be our Inheritance.

2. Live consistently, especially ye candidates of Christ, recently baptized, just regenerated, as I have admonished you before, so say I now, and give expression to my solicitude; for the present lesson of the Gospel hath forced upon me a greater fear: take heed to yourselves, do not imitate evil Christians. Say not I will do this, for many of the faithful do it. This is not to procure a defence for the soul; but to look out for companions unto hell. Grow ye in this floor of the Lord; herein ye will find good men to please you, if ye yourselves are good. For are ye our private property? Heretics and schismatics have made their own private property out of what they have stolen from the Lord, and would feed, not Christ's flocks, but their own against Christ. It is true indeed, they place His title on these their spoils, that their robberies may be as it were maintained by the title of His Power. What doeth Christ when such as these are converted, who have received the title of His Baptism out of the Church? He casteth out the spoiler, He doth not efface the title, and taketh possession of the house; because He hath found His title there. What need is there that He should change His Own Name? Do they take heed to what the Lord said to Peter, *Feed My lambs, feed My sheep?* Did he say to him, *Feed thy lambs;* or *Feed thy sheep?* But for them who are shut out, what said He in the Song of Songs, unto the Church? The Spouse speaking to the Bride, saith, *If thou know not thyself, O thou fair one among women, go forth* (Cant. 1:8, Sept.). As though He said, " I do not cast thee out, ' go forth, if thou know not thyself, O thou fair one among women,' if thou know not thyself in the mirror of divine Scripture, if thou give not heed, O thou fair woman, to the mirror which with no false lustre deceiveth thee; if thou know not that of thee it is said, ' Thy glory shall be above all earth ' (cf. Ps. 57:11; D. 56:12); that of thee it is said, ' I will give thee nations for thine inheritance, and the limits of the earth for thy possession ' (cf. Ps. 2:8); and other innumerable testimonies which set forth the Catholic Church. If then thou know not these, thou hast no part in Me, thou canst not make thyself My heir. ' Go forth then in the footsteps of the flocks,' not in the fellowship of the flock; and feed thy goats, not as it was said to Peter, ' My sheep.' " To Peter it was said, " My sheep "; to schismatics it is said, "thy goats." In the one place " sheep," in the other " goats "; in the one place " Mine," in the other " thine." Recollect the right Hand and the

left of our Judge; recollect where the goats shall stand, and where the sheep (Matt. 25:33); and it will be plain to you where is the right hand, where the left, the white and the black, the lightsome, and the darksome, the fair and the deformed, that which is about to receive the kingdom, and that which is to find everlasting punishment.

[12]

AND LET EVERY ONE OF YOU (D. EVERY MAN) BE SWIFT TO HEAR, BUT SLOW TO SPEAK: From the Words of the Apostle James (1:19). And from the same (1:22): BUT BE YE DOERS OF THE WORD, AND NOT HEARERS ONLY, DECEIVING YOUR OWN SELVES (Sermon CLXXIX on New Testament Lessons)

1. *In this sermon we must consider the duties of both the hearers and the preachers of the Word of God.* The blessed Apostle James appropriately addresses the faithful hearers of the Word of God when he says: *Be ye doers of the Word, not hearers only, deceiving your own selves.* For you do not deceive Him whose word it is, nor him through whom it is spoken; you deceive yourselves. Therefore, using as a text this precept which springs from the fountain of truth by the mouth of the truthful Apostle, we may dare to exhort you; and you should give heed to our exhortation.

Now he who does not inwardly listen to the Word of God is an empty preacher of it in public. Nor are we so destitute of human wisdom and of the understanding of the faith as to be ignorant of our danger when we preach the Word of God to the people. But we have this comfort — that when we are imperiled by our duty, we are aided by your prayers. And that you may know, brethren, how much safer your position is than ours, I cite for you another precept of the Apostle himself: *Let every one of you be swift to hear, but slow to speak.* In treating of this precept, where we are advised to be more swift to hear, more slow to speak, I will speak first of our duty of speaking. Then, when I have justified the duty discharged by us who often speak, I will come to the point which I stated first.

2. *To hear the Word of God is safer than to preach it.* We exhort

you not to be hearers only but also doers of the Word. Now we address you often, and unless you understand the necessity for this, who is there who does not judge us when he reads: *Let every man be swift to hear but slow to speak?* Yet it is zeal for you which does not permit us to keep this precept. And you, therefore, should pray to support him whom you know to be endangered for your sakes.

Let me tell you another thing, my brethren, which I want you to believe, for you cannot see it in my heart. I, who preach to you constantly because my superior and brother, your Bishop, commands it, am truly happy only when I am listening. My joy, I say, is real only when I listen, not when I preach. Then only, I rejoice with confidence. That happiness is *not puffed up*. Pride's dangerous precipice is not to be feared on the solid rock of truth.

You can know that this is true when you recall the words: *To my hearing thou shalt give joy and gladness* (Ps. 51:8; D. 50:10). Where I hear, there I rejoice. Then the verse continues: *The bones that have been humbled shall rejoice.* When we are listening we are humble; but when we preach, even if we are not endangered by pride, we escape the peril only by curbing ourselves. Even if I am not elated, I am in danger of elation. But when I listen, I enjoy with none to defraud; I rejoice with none to witness.

Such joy that friend of the bridegroom knew when he said: *He that hath the bride is the bridegroom: but the friend of the bridegroom . . . stands and hears him* (John 3:29). And he stands just because he hears him. For the first man stood because he heard God, and fell because he heard the serpent. Therefore, *the friend of the bridegroom stands and hears him;* and says, " I rejoice." *He rejoiceth because of the bridegroom's voice* (*ibid.*) — not because of his own voice, but because of the voice of the bridegroom. But the voice of the bridegroom, which he heard within, he did not withhold from the people without.

* * *

10. *Let no unheeding listener plead the faults of the preacher. . . .*[1]

Now perhaps someone — or two — or rather the majority in this assembly is judging me and saying: " I should like to know whether that man who is preaching to me does all that he himself hears or that he says to others." To such men I answer: *But to me it is a very small thing to be judged by you or by man's day* (I Cor. 4:3). For I myself, although I can know in some part what I now am, do not know what I am to be tomorrow. But to you, who are so disturbed, the Lord has given sure counsel concerning me. If I do what I say or what I hear, *Be ye imitators* (D. *followers*) *of me as I also am of Christ* (I Cor. 4:3, 16). But if I say and do not, hear the Lord: *Whatsoever they . . . say, . . . do; but according to their works do ye not* (Matt. 23:3). If you think well of me, you praise me; if you think ill, you accuse me; but you do not excuse yourself.

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[1] Deleted portion has special reference to ch. 9, here omitted.

If you turn to accusation of doing his own works ill against a wicked preacher who speaks to you the Word of God, how do you excuse yourself? For your Lord, your Redeemer, who paid your ransom, enrolled you in His service, and made you not His slave but His brother, does not cease to remind you and say to you: *What they say, do; but what they do, do not. For they say*, the verse continues, *and do not.* They speak good things, they do evil things. You must listen to good things and not do evil things. Here you will answer: How can I hear good things from a bad man? *Do men gather grapes of thorns* (Matt. 7:16)?

[13]

ON THE TRADITION OF THE CREED (I) (Sermon CCXII. For the Season — The Second Day After the Fifth Sunday in Lent)

1. *Why the Creed is called the Symbol.* The time has come for you to receive the Creed which contains in few words all which you believe for your eternal salvation. We rightly call it the Symbol, from the analogy of another use of the word — for merchants have a symbol or sign which they use among themselves to keep the members of their association faithful to their agreement. And you are members of a spiritual association, seeking, like merchants, the *pearl of great price* (Matt. 13:45 f.). This pearl is love, which *is poured forth in* [your] *hearts by the Holy Ghost who is given to* [you] (Rom.

5:5). Such love is attained through the faith which is contained in this Symbol. That is:

You believe in God, the Father Almighty, Invisible, Immortal, King of worlds, Creator of things visible and invisible, and in all else concerning Him which either pure reason or the authority of the Holy Scripture rightly declares.

Nor is the Son to be separated from the Excellency of God. For these things are not asserted of the Father as if they did not also belong to Him who said: *I and the Father are one* (John 10:30); and of whom the Apostle said: *Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God* (Phil. 2:6). Robbery, of course, is the appropriation of what belongs to another; but the equality of the Son is not by robbery but by nature.

Truly how shall the Son through whom all things were made (John 1:3) not be omnipotent; since also *He is the power of God and the wisdom of God* (I Cor. 1:24) of which it is written: *Being but one, she can do all things* (Wisd. 7:27)? Moreover, He is by nature invisible in that true form in which He is equal to the Father. Surely the Word of God is by nature invisible — that Word which *was in the beginning with God* and *was God* (John 1:2, 1).

In this nature, too, He is wholly immortal — that is, He remains in every way unchanging. The human soul is also called immortal in a certain sense — but that is not true immortality when there is so great mutability that both progress and regress are possible. Thus, it is the soul's death to be separated from the life of God through its own ignorance. And it is its life to run to the fountain of life that, in the light of God, it may see light (cf. Ps. 36:9; D. 35:10). For in that life, through the grace of God, you will find resurrection from the death you are now renouncing. But the Word of God, which is the only begotten Son, abides always with the Father without change. He does not become less, for the Eternal does not diminish. Neither does He grow greater, for the Perfect does not increase.

He also is the Creator of worlds, visible and invisible; because, as the Apostle said: *In Him were all things created in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominations or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him and in him . . . and by him all things endure* (Col. 1:16, 17).

But *since he emptied himself*, not losing the form of God but *tak-*

ing the form of a servant (Phil. 2:7); through this form of a servant, the Invisible became visible, for He was born of the Holy Ghost and Mary, the Virgin. In this form of a servant, Omnipotence became weak, for He suffered under Pontius Pilate. In this form of a servant, Immortality endured death, for He was crucified and buried. In this form of a servant, the King of worlds rose on the third day. In this form of a servant, the Creator of things, visible and invisible, ascended into heaven, from which He had never departed. In this form of a servant, He sits at the right hand of the Father — He who is the arm of the Father of Whom the prophet said, *And to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed* (Isa. 53:1)? In this form of a servant, He shall come to judge the living and the dead, for He willed to share their death although He was the Life of the living.

Through Him the Holy Spirit was sent to us from the Father and from Him. The Spirit of the Father and the Son was sent from Both — was begotten of none, a Unity with Both, the Equal of Both.

This Trinity is One God, Omnipotent, Invisible, King of worlds, Creator of things visible and invisible. For we do not say three Lords, nor three Omnipotents, nor three Creators, nor three of anything which can be said of the Excellency of God. Although in this Trinity, the Father is not the Son, and the Son is not the Father, and the Holy Spirit is neither Son nor Father; yet that Father is Father of the Son, and that Son is Son of the Father, and that Spirit is the Spirit of the Father and the Son. Believe, that you may understand; for unless you believe, you will not understand (cf. Isa. 7:9, Sept.).

Through this faith you hope for grace in which all sins will be forgiven you. By this you will be saved, and not of yourselves, for this is the gift of God (Rom. 6:23). Now after this death which comes to all, which is the penalty incurred long ago by the first man, you hope for the final resurrection of your bodies — not a resurrection to pain and suffering to which the wicked shall rise; nor to the pleasures of carnal delights, as the foolish think; but as the Apostle says: *It is sown a natural body, it shall rise a spiritual body* (I Cor. 15:44). Then the body will not be *a load upon the soul* (cf. Wisd. 9:15), nor will it need repair since it will suffer no lack.

2. *Why the Creed must be learned and remembered.* I have preached to you this short sermon on the whole Creed, as is required. In that Creed you know that all I have said in this sermon is con-

tained in few words. These words you must not write down in any way in order to preserve them. Learn them by hearing them. And when you have memorized them, do not put them in writing. But keep them always in memory and reflect upon them. For all that you hear in the Creed is contained in the divine words of the Holy Scripture.

The Creed which confesses our Faith in these exact words must not be written down. For it is to us a memorial of the promise of God when He announced the New Covenant through the prophet and said: *This is* (D. *shall be*) *the covenant that I will make with* [them] . . . *after those days saith the Lord. I will give my law in their mind* (D. *bowels*), *and I will write it in their heart* (Jer. 31:33). To remind you of this, the Creed is learned by hearing, and it is not written on tablets or on any sort of material, but in the heart.

He who has called you to His kingdom and glory will grant to you who are born again by His grace that these words be written in your hearts by the Holy Spirit, in order that you may love because you believe, and that faith may work through love. So may you be pleasing to the Lord God, the Giver of all good; not fearing punishment like slaves, but loving justice like free men.

This, then, is the Creed. Its substance is already known to you through the Scriptures and the preaching of the Church. But this brief form must be steadfastly held and upheld by the faithful.

[14]

ON THE DEDICATION OF A CHURCH (II) (Sermon CCCXXXVII. On the Saints)

Note: The authenticity of this sermon has been seriously questioned and as vigorously defended. Of real merit in any case, it is placed here in its traditional setting. — Ed.

1. *The building of a church must be considered a good work according to the faith and love of the builder. The building of the heavenly church.* When the good works which the faithful accomplish with their temporal and earthly wealth are deposited in the heavenly

treasure house, they are seen by faith which has the eye of piety in the heart. So it is with these buildings of yours, constructed by a united group of religious men. When he who has faith sees them with the physical eye, he praises inwardly what he sees outwardly. By visible light he perceives that at which he rejoices by invisible truth. For faith is occupied in appreciating, not how beautiful the parts of this house are, but how great was the beauty of the human soul from which issue these works of love.

Therefore, the Lord will reward His faithful servants who accomplished this work so piously, so joyously, so devotedly, by setting them securely into the fabric of His building. As living stones, shaped by faith, fixed in place by hope, cemented by love, they hasten toward that building, for which the wise architect, the Apostle, laid the foundation, Jesus Christ (I Cor. 3:10, 11), Himself the chief cornerstone. Even so Peter reminds us from the words of the prophet: *Rejected indeed by men but chosen and made honorable by God* (I Pet. 2:4).

By adhering to Him we are firmly fixed; by depending on Him we are made strong. He is at the same time our foundation, because He guides our course; and the corner, because He unites us. He is the true rock on which the wise man builds his house and endures, completely secure against all the temptations of this world. That house is not swept away by descending rain, nor overturned by flooding rivers, nor shaken by tempestuous winds (cf. Matt. 7:24, 25). *He is* also *our peace who hath made both one* (Eph. 2:14), for in Him, *neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature* (Gal. 6:15). For these two like walls, coming from different directions, were far apart, until, brought to Him as to a corner, they were joined together in Him.

2. *Build in toil, dedicate in joy.* This visible building was erected for our physical assembling together. That building of which we are a part is built to be the spiritual habitation of God. *For the temple of God is holy,* the Apostle says, *which you are* (I Cor. 3:17). As we build this church with a heavy *weight* of earthly materials, so we erect that temple with a well-ordered *way*[1] of life. This church will be dedicated by us who are now your guests; that temple will be dedi-

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[1] The translation here reflects St. Augustine's pun on the words *molibus* and *moribus.*

cated by the Lord who comes at the end of the world. When our corruptible heart shall have put on incorruptibility, and this mortal shall have put on immortality (cf. I Cor. 15:53), because the body of our humiliation will conform to the body of His Glory (cf. Phil. 3:21).

Hear now the words of the Psalm of Dedication: *Thou hast turned for me my mourning into joy: thou hast cut my sackcloth, and hast compassed me with gladness; to the end that my glory may sing to thee, and I may not regret* (Ps. 30:11–12; D. 29: 12, 13). For while we are being built, our humiliation mourns; but when we shall be dedicated, our glory will sing to Him. For in building there is toil, but in dedication, joy. When the stones are quarried from the mountains, and the beams hewn from the forest, when they are being shaped, smoothed, fitted together, there is hard labor and pain. But when the dedication of the finished building is celebrated, joy and confidence take the place of toils and pains. And that spiritual building, the habitation of God, shall be, not for a time, but for eternity.

When for faith men are set apart from their faithless life, so long as there remains in them anything not good and corrupt, it must be lopped off and cut down, until they become peaceful and pious, fit to be joined together. How many temptations they fear! How many tribulations they endure! But when the day of the dedication of the eternal temple comes, when we are told: *Come ye blessed of my Father, possess your kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world* (Matt. 25:34), how great will be that exultation, that confidence! Clear will be the song, muted by no weakness. Then He who loved us and gave Himself for us shall reveal Himself. He who became visible to men, because He was born of a mother, will appear to them as God, Maker of all things, because He was in the Father. Then He will enter His temple, perfected and adorned, firm in unity, arrayed in immortality, to dwell there forever. Then He will fill all things, will shine in all things, that *God may be all in all* (I Cor. 15:28).

3. *The desire to live in the House of the Lord. Those who dwell therein are the House of God.* A man once desired this one thing alone of the Lord; and that man are we if we so will. For this end he labored with groanings, for this he flooded his bed nightly with weeping and watered his couch with his tears (Ps. 6:6; D. 6:7). For this his tears were his bread day and night, while it was said to him

daily: *Where is thy God* (Ps. 42:3; D. 41:4)? He himself says: *One thing have I asked of the Lord, this will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, that I may see the delight of the Lord and guard* (D. *visit*) *his temple* (Ps. 27:4; D. 26:4).

God Himself dwells with His own; they are themselves His habitation. For those who dwell in the House of God are themselves the House of God, beholding His delight, and guarding His temple, and hidden in the secret place of His countenance (cf. Ps. 27:5; D. 26:5). This hope we possess; its realization we do not yet see. *But if we hope for that which we see not, we wait for it with patience* (Rom. 8:25); and through patience we are built.

4. *Our Foundation is above, not below.* Therefore, brethren, *if you be risen with Christ, seek the things that are above; where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God. Mind the things that are above, not the things that are upon earth* (Col. 3:1, 2). For Christ, our Foundation, is set above, that we may be built upward (cf. Col. 2:7). For a building of earthly materials, whose heavy mass can fall only downwards, the foundation is placed underneath. On the contrary for us, the foundation stone is set above, that He may draw us upward by the force of His love.

Quickly therefore, *with fear and trembling work out your salvation. For it is God who worketh in you, both to will and to accomplish, according to his good will. Do ye all things without murmurings* (Phil. 2:12–14). *Be ye also as living stones built up into the temple of God* (D. *a spiritual house*) (I Pet. 2:5). Build then the House of God of yourselves, as beams which will not decay. Square yourselves, shape yourselves. By toil, by self-denial, by watching, by constant occupation, prepare yourselves for every good work, so that you may deserve rest in eternal life in the company of angels.

5. *The eternal dwelling must be prepared by good works.* This building of yours was built for time; it will not endure for eternity. So also our bodies, for whose needs it was erected by works of mercy, are not everlasting, but temporal and mortal. But *we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in heaven* (II Cor. 5:1). There also our bodies, by the transformation of the resurrection, will be made heavenly and everlasting. Yet even now, although we do not see Him by sight, *face to face* as *it shall be* (cf.

I Cor. 13:12), God dwells in us by faith. And by good works we are made a lowly habitation for Him Who so dwells. Such works are not eternal, but they lead to eternal life. And among them stands the work by which this church was built.

But in heaven we shall be occupied with no such construction. No building which can fall is erected there where none who enters can suffer death. Yet let your temporal work be good that your reward may be eternal. In this world I say, in spiritual love, build a habitation for faith and hope by all good works, although such works will have an end, because there will be no need for them.

Therefore, lay, as a foundation in your hearts, the counsels of the prophets and apostles. As a pavement without stumbling block, spread your humility. Establish sound doctrine in your hearts by prayers and sermons, like strong walls. Light them by divine testimonies as by candles. Like columns, support the weak. Like a roof, protect the poor. And may the Lord, our God, return us eternal good for temporal, and keep you forever, perfected and dedicated.

POPE GREGORY I

(540 [590]–604)

GREGORY'S life recalls the noble Roman scion, the papal ambassador at Constantinople, and the pontiff with a shepherd's watchfulness as great as that celebrated in the *Pastoral Rule.* He was a consistent derogator of pagan learning, an ardent patron of the monastic life, a credulous retailer of miracle lore. Great as a Christian administrator, rather than as a scholar or preacher, his life and writings impressed the medieval world profoundly. The following selection, translated by Miss Dorothy Ann Freeman, is edited from MPL 76:909–15.

[15]

AN EXPLANATION OF THE THIRD CHAPTER OF EZEKIEL, FROM VERSE 15 TO 20, PARTICULARLY ON THE PASTORAL OFFICE, ON THE SINS OF PRELATES AND THEIR SUBORDINATES IN THEIR MUTUAL RELATION, AND ON BLINDNESS OF HEART (Homily XI — Book I)

If I say to the wicked, You shall die, and you do not warn him, nor admonish him to turn from the way of his wickedness and live; the wicked one shall die in his iniquity, but I shall require his blood at your hand (Ezek. 3:18).

* * *

9. In these words, what else should we note, or carefully consider, except this, that neither does the subordinate die from the guilt of his superior, nor is the superior without guilt when his subordinate, not hearing the word of life, dies from his own guilt? The wicked one deserves death, but, nevertheless, the onlooker ought to make known to him the way of life, and rebuke his wickedness. If, in truth, the onlooker keeps silent, the wicked one will die in his iniquity, because it was the reward of his wickedness that he should not be worthy of the word of warning. But God will require his blood at the hand of the spectator, because he killed him, since by keeping silence he gave him over to death. In both these considerations we ought to realize how closely the sins of subordinates and superiors are united, because when one of lower rank dies from his own guilt, then he who is superior to him is held culpable for his death, because he has kept silent. Think then, my dearest brothers, think how the fact that we are not worthy pastors is indeed your fault, whose prelates we are. For if you fall into iniquity, we are held to account, who did not withstand you and reclaim you from your depraved desires. You spare, therefore, both yourselves and us, when you cease from the work of wickedness. We spare both you and ourselves when we are not silent respecting that which offends. Oh, how free from the blood of those entrusted to him was the noble preacher who said: *I am clear from the blood of all men, for I have not spared to declare unto you all the counsel of God* (Acts 20:26–27). If he had not proclaimed it, surely he would not have been stainless. But he was free

from the blood of those to whom he was zealous to announce all the counsel of God. By this word we are summoned to trial; we are fettered; we are shown to be guilty, we who are called priests, who, to our own ills, add the deaths of others; for we kill all those whom everyday we, lukewarm and silent, see going to their death.

10. When the text reads: *But I will require his blood at your hand* (Ezek. 3:18), if the word " blood," in this place, signifies the death of the body, then our anxiety on account of our silence is much increased. For if, in the case of his flock, he who is the prelate [appointed] to oversee them is to be held so strictly to account for the death of the body, which is doomed to die in any case, then how great will be his guilt for the death of the soul, which could have lived forever if it had heard words of reproof? But the word " blood " can better be taken to mean sins. Therefore, the psalmist, when he lamented the sins of the flesh, said: *Deliver me from blood, O God, Thou God of my salvation* (Ps. 51:14; D. 50:16). The blood of the dying will be required at the hand of the spectator, because the sin of the dependent is counted up to his superior, if he has held his peace. Therefore, this is what he should do to clear himself from the death of his dependent. He should arise, he should be watchful, he should withstand wrongdoing, as the Scripture says: *Hurry, make haste, arouse your friend, neither give slumber to your eyes, nor let your eyelids sleep* (Prov. 6:3–4). Then this also is added: *If, however, you warn the wicked, and he does not turn from his wickedness, nor from the way of his iniquity; he shall* die in his wickedness, *but you will have saved your soul* (Ezek. 3:19).

11. Thus your subordinate dies without involving you, if he ignores your opposition to the cause of his death; but you are implicated in his death if you do not oppose him. Also, we should note what things the onlooker ought to teach, surely faith and works. For our text says: *But if you warn the wicked, and he does not turn from his wickedness, and from his wicked way* [*he shall die*]. . . . The wickedness certainly refers to infidelity, and the wicked way to iniquitous action. And the endeavor of every onlooker ought to be, first, to exhort to the righteousness of faith; and then to the righteous way, that is, to good action.

12. Since a sermon consists of exhortation, we ought briefly to observe what should be the method and the subject of the pastor's

speaking. For the teacher ought to consider what he should say, and to whom, and when, and how, and how much. If even one of these considerations is lacking, he does not speak fitly. The Scripture reads: *If you offer rightly, but do not apportion rightly, you have sinned* (Gen. 4:7; cf. Sept.). We offer rightly when, with right good zeal, we do a good work; but we do not apportion rightly when we neglect to use discretion in good works. We ought, therefore, to consider what we should say according to the saying of Paul, *Let our* (D. *your*) *speech be always in grace, seasoned with salt* (Col. 4:6).

13. Truly we ought to consider to whom we are speaking, because often the word of rebuke which one person will accept, another will not. And often one should deal differently with the same person, according to the deed. Thus, with a strong rebuke the prophet Nathan smote David after his adultery. When David spoke about the thief of the sheep, *The man that hath done this is a child of death; Nathan forthwith replied,* saying: *Thou art the man* (II Sam. 12:5, 7). But when he spoke about the kingdom of Solomon, (I Kings 1:23), because [in this case] there was no guilt, he fell down humbly in adoration of David. Because for one and the same person the situations were different, the words of the prophet were dissimilar.

14. We must also consider when we ought to speak, because often, if the rebuke is postponed, it afterward is readily received. But sometimes it loses force, if one misses the time at which it should have been given. The wise wife of Nabal, seeing him drunken (I Sam. 25:36–37), did not berate him for his stubborn guilt, but when the wine was digested, the words of her rebuke struck home. But [on the other hand] the prophet proclaims that the [rebuke of] flatterers' tongues should not be put off to a future time, when he says: *The shameful are at once confounded, who say to me, Well done, well done* (Ps. 70:2–3; D. 69:3–4). For flattery, if at the time it is unconcernedly accepted, augments itself, and, in a little while, it softens the spirit so as to weaken it from the rigor of its rectitude by sweet speech. Flattery, therefore, should immediately and without delay be struck down, so that it may not grow.

15. We ought also to think in what manner we should speak. For often the words which recall one man to salvation wound another. Thus the Apostle Paul admonished Titus, saying: *Rebuke with all authority* (Titus 2:15), but exhorted Timothy, saying: *Rebuke, en-*

treat, reprove in all patience and teaching (II Tim. 4:2). Why should he instruct one man to use authority, and the other to use patience, unless it happened that he realized one to be of a more lenient, and the other of a more fervent spirit? Upon the more moderate man severity of speech had to be enjoined through the power of authority, but he who was ardent in spirit had to be tempered through patience, lest he should be overly impetuous, and, instead of leading the wounded back to salvation, should wound the sound.

16. We ought to consider how much we should say, lest we prolong the word of exhortation or rebuke too far for the one who is not able to bear much, and thus bring our hearer to boredom. Thus the same excellent preacher speaks to the Hebrews, saying: *I beseech you, brethren, to bear with my word of consolation, for I have written to you in a few words* (13:22). This is especially appropriate for the weak, that they may hear a few things which they will be able to accept, but which will urge their minds to the sorrow of repentance. For if the sermon of exhortation is delivered to them in manifold form, [and all] at one time, since they cannot retain a great deal, they immediately lose everything. Thus, also, the physicians of the body who put plasters on the stomachs of the sick use a suitable medication, which they spread lightly, lest the plasters should be so full of medicament that they should not strengthen and relieve the sickness, but instead irritate and aggravate it.

17. We should recognize, however, that even if the sermon is long-drawn-out and prolix, this is [in itself] no danger to the hearers. But if the way it is spoken and the audience to whom it is addressed are not watchfully considered, this is a great danger. For modest minds, if by chance they have committed faults, should be gently reproved; because, if they are more sternly rebuked, they are broken rather than instructed. But conversely the strong-minded and shameless, if they are moderately reproved, will be provoked to greater guilt by this very moderation.

18. This is abundantly apparent in the case of that same eminent preacher, who, when he learned that the Corinthians were divided into factions by attachment to [various] persons, considered their modesty of mind and began his speech to them with thanksgiving and praise, saying: *I thank my God continually on your account for the grace of God, which was given to you in Christ Jesus, that in every-*

thing you were enriched by him, in all utterance and in all knowledge, as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you (I Cor. 1:4–6). Then he added: *So that you may lack nothing in any grace, awaiting the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ . . .* (vs. 7). I ask you, Paul, if nothing is lacking, why do you trouble them by writing? Why do you speak from far away? For let us consider, dearest brethren, how great is his praise. He says that the grace of God has been given to them; he says they have been enriched in everything, in all assertion and in all knowledge; he claims that the testimony of Christ, that is, of his death and resurrection, has been confirmed in their life; and he bears witness that nothing is lacking to them in any grace. Who, I ask, could believe that a little while afterward he would rebuke those whom thus he praises? For afterward he adds, *Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you* (vs. 10). Now what division could steal upon such perfect and praiseworthy people? *For it has been told me, my brethren, by those who [come from] Chloe, that there are contentions among you. For this I mean, that each one of you contends: I am of Paul, I of Apollos, I of Cephas, I of Christ* (vss. 11–12). See how these, whom he had praised in all utterance and all knowledge, and who, he had said, lacked nothing in any grace, he now in short space begins to rebuke, reproving their divisions. Now he uncovers the wounds whose soundness he has just described. Thus the skilled physician examining a wound which must be lanced, but seeing that the sick man is timid, for some time strokes gently; and then suddenly makes an incision. First he uses the gentle hand of praise, and then the steel of reproof. For unless the modest of mind are reproved by gentle strokes, so that they hear other things which they take to their comfort, they are straightway thrown into desperation by the rebuke.

19. But does Paul speak falsely, when first he says that they lack nothing in any grace, and afterwards says that unity is lacking? Heaven forbid! Who would be so foolish as to believe such things of him? But because there were certain ones among the Corinthians who were filled with every grace, and others divided into parties by their loyalty to individuals, he began with the praises of the perfect, so that through moderate speech he might come to the reproof of the weak. In this, also, the usage of physical healing applies to the heal-

ing of the heart. For when the physician examines a wound which must be incised, first he presses the healthy parts around the wound, and afterward comes to the spot which is wounded. When, therefore, Paul praised those of the Corinthians who were perfect, he was touching upon the healthy parts around the wound; and when he rebuked the unhealthy ones of the division, he struck the wound in the body.

20. Let us see, however, how this same Apostle, who conducted himself with such moderation and mildness in the correction of the Corinthians, dealt with the Galatians, who had departed from the faith. Foregoing any moderate patience or sweet speech, he confuted those whom he knew to have deserted the faith, by an assault at the very beginning of his letter. After his salutation, he began: *I marvel that thus quickly you are turned away from him who called you in the grace of Christ* (Gal. 1:6). And thereafter he added, in undisguised rebuke: *O foolish Galatians, who has bewitched you* (3:1)? For unfeeling minds, unless they are smitten with an open castigation, by no means understand the evil they have done. And often those who are shameless realize the extent of their sins in proportion to the vehemence with which they are censured, so that they consider the guilt less which receives a lesser reprimand, and that which they see sternly berated, they think to be greater. Therefore, the sermon of the preacher to his hearers must always be composed with regard to their condition, lest the modest should be severely rebuked and the shameless leniently. What wonder then if the steward of the word of God expends it in the same way as a farmer who plants his crop? A good farmer first has an eye to the quality of the soil and the seed for which it seems suitable; and after he has considered these things, he sows his seed. But because we have dealt at length with the quality of the teaching of doctrine, it is now fitting that we return to that text which we began to expound.

But if a righteous man turns from his righteousness and does iniquity, I put a stumbling block before him; . . . he shall die in his sin, and the righteousness which he has done shall not be remembered; but I shall require his blood at your hand (Ezek. 3:20).

21. Because the preacher held his peace with regard to the just man when he fell into sin, he is held guilty of his blood. And he who does not study to be zealous in preaching is made a partner in damnation. But when we read: *He shall die in his sin, and the righteousness he*

has done shall not be remembered, we must especially take thought that when we commit wrong, we revoke without [good] reason the memory of the good works we have done, because, in the perpetration of evil, there can be no reliance on previous good. Nevertheless, it is possible to ask whether the righteous man should be warned before or after he falls. The preacher should be watchful that he should not come to fall, and without doubt [he should warn him] before he falls. For the passage continues:

If, however, you admonish the righteous man that the righteous should not sin, and he does not sin, he shall live, because you have warned him; and you have delivered your soul (Ezek. 3:21).

22. If then the preacher has thus saved his soul because he has remonstrated with the just man that he should not sin; when a righteous man falls into sin while the preacher keeps silence, the preacher is held guilty for his silence. But who of us, I ask, is man enough for this, that not only should he zealously chide sinners, but also watch over the righteous, lest they fall? For we, conscious of our infirmity, do not presume when we behold just men to admonish them to hold to the way of justice, which [already] we see them follow. Yet, nevertheless, it is the obligation of the preacher thus to admonish the just. Therefore, the noble preacher said: *I am a debtor both to the wise and the unwise* (Rom. 1:14).

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BEDE THE VENERABLE

(672–735)

DEVOTED English monk of Jarrow, indefatigable researcher and writer, Bede is justly more famous for his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* and, indeed, a mass of commentaries and other Biblical works than for his sermons. The first of the selections, newly translated from Bed.Gi. V, 81–85 by Miss Dorothy Ann Freeman, is fairly representative of the scholarly integrity and lucid allegorization characterizing his homilies. The second, of frequently challenged authenticity, is true, not only to the spirit of his age, but also to the tenor of his spiritual yearnings. It is so inextricably joined with Bede's career through its incorporation in the breviary, as to be virtually of his lineage, whatever its immediate parentage. See MPL 94:450–52. The translation of Ne.Mpp. 2–4, 8–9 is from Cologne ed. (1688), VII, 149.

[16]

" IN THAT TIME, WHEN THE CROWDS PRESSED TO JESUS TO HEAR THE WORD OF GOD, HE STOOD BY THE LAKE OF GENESARETH " — Luke 5:1 (Homily X)

That same lake is called Genesareth, which otherwise is known as the sea of Galilee, or the sea of Tiberias; taking the name of Galilee from the adjacent province, and that of Tiberias from a near-by city which was once called Chennereth, but was refounded by Herod, the tetrarch, and called Tiberias in honor of Tiberius Caesar. Furthermore, it is called " Genesas " from the nature of the lake itself, from the Greek word,[1] as if, of itself, it generated the breezes which make its waters tremble. For the lake does not usually lie stagnant, but its waters are stirred by frequent winds and are sweet and drinkable. In the Hebrew tongue, however, it is customary to call any body of water, whether sweet or salt, a sea. This lake, through which the Jordan flows, extends one hundred forty stades[2] in length, and forty in width. Therefore, because the lake or sea typifies the present age, the Lord stands beside the sea [this world] after he has left the mortality of transient life in that flesh in which he suffered and has reached the stability of perpetual peace. The gathering of the crowds about him is typical of people who assemble together in faith, of whom Isaiah said: *And all nations shall flow unto it, and many peoples shall come, and say: Come, let us ascend the mountain of God* (2:3).

And he saw two ships drawn up by the side of the lake (Luke 5:2).

The two ships by the side of the lake represent the circumcised and the uncircumcised, which Jesus is fittingly said to have seen, for in both peoples the Lord knows who are his own, and the hearts of these he pilots out of the vicissitudes of this world to the tranquillity of the future life as if to solid shore. And this he does by seeing them, that is, by compassionately visiting them.

The fishermen, however, had disembarked, and were washing their nets (5:2).

The fishermen are the teachers of the Church, who gather us together in the net of faith and lift us up out of the depths into the light, like fish upon the shore, and thus bring us to the land of the living. Like the nets of the fishers are the discourses of the preachers, which enmesh those whom they receive in faith; and they are called meshes because they enmesh.[1] And these nets are sometimes let down, sometimes washed and folded for the catch; just as not every time is suitable for teaching, but sometimes the teacher ought to engage in preaching, and sometimes he ought to attend to his own concerns.

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[1] A play on the Greek γένεσις.

[2] A stade is approximately 606 feet.

> *Going up into one of the ships, that was Simon's, he asked him to push out a little from the shore. And sitting down, he taught the people from the boat* (5:3).

The ship of Simon is the Early Church, about which Paul said: *He who wrought in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, wrought in me also among the Gentiles* (Gal. 2:8). Rightly he said one ship, for the multitude of believers had one heart and one spirit. From this ship he taught the people, just as the Church, on the basis of its authority, teaches the nations up to the present day.

> *When he had finished speaking, he said to Simon: Put out to sea, and let down your nets for the catch* (Luke 5:4).

The fact that first he asked Simon to put out the ship a little way from the land signifies that the Gospel ought to be preached with moderation to the people. The preacher should neither teach them of earthly matters [alone], nor yet should he depart too far from earthly things into the profundities of the sacraments, lest they fail to understand these things. Or [it may signify] that the Gospel should first be preached to the peoples of near-by regions, so that the words to Peter: *Put out to sea, and let down your nets for the catch,* would refer to the far-away nations to whom it was afterwards preached.

> *And Simon in answer said to him: Master, through the whole night we have labored, and have taken nothing, but at thy word I will let down the net* (5:5).

Unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it (Ps. 127:1; D. 126:1); unless God illuminates the hearts of the hearers, the teacher toils in darkness; unless the weapons of disputation are loosed in the spirit of the Gospel of divine grace, the preacher sends the dart of his voice in vain. For the faith of the people does not come from the wisdom of the ordered Word, but by the gift of the divine vocation.

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[1] A play on *retia* and *retinentia.*

> *And when they had done this, they took a great multitude of fish. But their net was broken* (Luke 5:6).

Their net was broken because of the multitude of fishes, just as now so many reprobate enter into the confession of faith with the elect, and these rend the Church with their heresies. The net is broken, but the fish are not lost, because God preserves his own even among the temptations of their enemies.

> *And they called to their friends, who were in another ship, to come and help them* (5:7).

The other ship, as we said above, is the Church of the Gentiles which, since one small boat is not enough, is also filled with the chosen. For God knows who are his own, and with him the number of his elect is fixed. Since, then, in Judaea he did not find as many believers as he knew were predestined to faith and eternal life, as if seeking another ship to receive his fish, he filled the hearts of the Gentiles also with the grace of faith. And rightly, when the net broke, a companion ship was summoned, for before this Judas, the traitor, and Simon Magus, the most worthless of fish, had been caught; and Ananias and Sapphira had tried deceitfully to enter the net of faith; and, as John testifies, many of his disciples had departed from him and no longer walked with him; and finally Barnabas and Paul were chosen to be apostles to the Gentiles.

> *And they came, and filled both the ships, so that they were almost sinking* (5:7).

The loading of these ships will increase until the end of the world; but the fact that having been filled they sink, that is, they are threatened with destruction (for they are not actually sunk, but rather in danger of shipwreck), this fact the Apostle has set forth, saying: *In the last days perilous times shall come, and men shall be lovers of themselves . . .* (II Tim. 3:1, 2). The sinking ships are men of this world, out of which they are lifted through faith, but back into which they fall through the ways of depravity. That Peter himself was such a man, still clogged by weakness, he shows in this place. For Luke continues:

> *When Simon Peter saw this, he fell on his knees before Jesus, saying: Depart from me, for I am a sinner, Lord* (5:8).

Just so all carnal people in the Church somehow repel from themselves the guidance of spiritual men, in whom especially the person of Christ is manifested. For not only, by their voices, do they speak to the good ministers of God and reject them, but, by their customs and their deeds, they urge them to depart, that they may escape their guidance. And all the more vehemently do they reject them, when they show them honor, and yet by their deeds they urge them to depart in order to demonstrate their honorableness. Peter fell at the feet of the Lord, but it was his way of life which said: *Depart from me, Lord, for I am a sinful man.* The fact that the Lord did not do this (for he did not depart from them, but directed them as they brought the ships to the shore) signifies that good and spiritual men, when they are troubled by the sins of the multitude, should not desire to leave their work in the Church in order themselves to live more securely and peacefully.

And Jesus said to Simon: Fear not (5:10).

The Lord encourages mortal fear, and lifts up the spirits of the weak by consolation, lest anyone, trembling from the consciousness of his guilt, or marveling at the sinlessness of others, should fear to follow the way of holiness. Thence it follows:

From this time forth you shall catch men (5:10).

This refers especially to Peter himself. For the Lord explained to him what this catch of fish meant, namely, that just as now he caught fish with nets, thereafter he should catch men with words; and the whole order of the event demonstrates what should be done daily in the Church, of which Peter himself is the image. There is added truly:

And when they had brought the ships to land, forsaking everything, they followed him (5:11).

This may signify the end of time, when all those who cling to Christ will depart entirely from this world. One should know at this point, however, a fact which is not to be read here but which Matthew and Mark state: that two fishermen from each of the boats, first Peter and Andrew, and then the sons of Zebedee, were called by the Lord. But Luke, however, suggests that these were not called by the Lord at this time, but that the command that he should catch men was laid upon Peter alone. This is not to say that he was never again to catch fish, for after the resurrection of the Lord we read that they were fishers. Therefore, we understand that they returned after their custom to the catching of fish, so that it afterwards happened, as Matthew and Mark relate, that the other two were called. [For] then they did not bring their ships to land, as if to take up their work again, but they followed Christ as he called and bade them follow.

[17]

SERMON ON ALL SAINTS (Homily LXX)

To-day, beloved, we celebrate in the joy of one solemnity, the Festival of All Saints: in whose companionship the heaven exults; in whose guardianship the earth rejoices; by whose triumphs Holy Church is crowned; whose confession, as braver in its passion, is also brighter in its honour — because, while the battle increased, the glory of them that fought in it was also augmented. And the triumph of martyrdom is adorned with the manifold kind of its torments, because the more severe the pangs, the more illustrious also were the rewards; while our Mother, the Catholic Church, was taught by her Head, Jesus Christ, not to fear contumely, affliction, death; and more and more strengthened, — not by resistance, but by endurance, — inspired all of that illustrious number who suffered imprisonment or torture, with one and equal ardour to fight the battle, for triumphal glory.

O truly blessed Mother Church! so illuminated by the honour of Divine condescension, so adorned by the glorious blood of triumphant martyrs, so decked with the inviolate confession of snow-white virginity! Among its flowers, neither roses nor lilies are wanting. Endeavour now, beloved, each for yourselves, in each kind of honour, to obtain your own dignity — crowns, snow-white for chastity, or purple for passion. In those heavenly camps both peace and war have their own flowers, wherewith the soldiers of Christ are crowned.

For the ineffable and unbounded goodness of God has provided this also, that the time for labour and for agony should not be extended, — not long, not enduring, but short, and so to speak, momentary: that in this short and little life should be the pain and the labours — that in the life which is eternal should be the crown and the reward of merits: that the labours should quickly come to an end, but the reward of endurance should remain without end: that after the darkness of this world they should behold that most beautiful light, and should receive a blessedness greater than the bitterness of all passions: as the Apostle beareth witness when he saith, *The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us* (Rom. 8:18).

With how joyous a breast the heavenly city receives those that return from fight! How happily she meets them that bear the trophies of the conquered enemy! With triumphant men, women also come, who rose superior both to this world and to their sex, doubling the glory of their warfare; virgins with youths, who surpassed their tender years by their virtues. Yet not they alone, but the rest of the multitude of the faithful shall also enter the palace of that eternal court, who in peaceful union have observed the heavenly commandments, and have maintained the purity of the faith.

Now, therefore, brethren, let us enter the way of life; let us return to the celestial city, in which we are citizens, enrolled and inscribed. For we are *no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens of the saints, and of the household of God — heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ* (Eph. 2:19; Rom. 8:17).

* * *

Let us consider that Paradise is our country, as well as theirs: and so we shall begin to reckon the Patriarchs as our fathers. Why do we not, then, hasten and run, that we may behold our Country, and salute our parents? A great multitude of dear ones is there expecting us: a vast and mighty crowd of parents, brothers, and children, secure now of their own safety, anxious yet for our salvation, longs that we may come to their sight and embrace — to that joy which will be common to us and to them — to that pleasure expected by our celestial fellow-servants, as well as ourselves — to that full and perpetual felicity. . . . If it be a pleasure to go to them, let us eagerly and covetously hasten on our way, that we may soon be with them, and soon be with Christ; that we may have Him as our Guide in this journey, Who is the Author of Salvation, the Prince of Life, the Giver of Gladness, and Who liveth and reigneth with God the Father Almighty, and with the Holy Ghost.

HRABANUS MAURUS

(c. 776–856)

EDUCATED at Fulda and in Tours under Alcuin, Maurus became one of the most distinguished scholars and controversialists of the ninth century. As Abbot of Fulda he instigated, and himself greatly accelerated, the collection and production of literary works, massive both in their cumulative impact and expansive range. Forced out of retirement to assume archiepiscopal duties at Mayence, he fostered preaching among his clergy even as he had, during his active career, written sermons and sermon manuals. His concern that preaching be sufficiently homespun to move the common people to a more actively Christian life is evidenced in this homily. MPL 110:76–78; the translation of Ne.Mpp. 32–36 is from an undisclosed ed. of *Opera* V, 604.

[18]

A SERMON FOR SUNDAYS (Homily XLI)

You must know, beloved brethren, that our holy fathers ordained and commanded to all Christians to rest and to abstain from worldly labours on the Festivals of the Saints, but more especially on the Sundays, that they might be more ready and more prompt for the worship of God, and might not be exposed to any inconvenience that should hold them back from it; and that they might for a time dismiss all worldly anxiety, so as more easily to be able to understand the will of God. Whence the Lord Himself saith by the Prophet, *Be still then, and know that I am God* (Ps. 46:10; D. 45:11). But for those who are implicated in diverse cares and businesses, and despise this commandment of God, and have no leisure for Divine contemplation, I fear lest in the future judgment, when they knock at the door of the Lord and demand that it should be opened to them, the answer should be, *Verily, I say unto you, I know you not: depart from Me, all ye that work in iniquity* (Matt. 25:12; 7:23); and that they who now neglect God, should then be rejected by Him. Wherefore, my brethren, do not find it a trouble to attend to God's worship on the Sundays and the Festivals of Saints. The Apostles and apostolic men ordained that the Sunday should be kept holy for this reason; because it was on that day that our Redeemer rose from the dead. And it is therefore called the Lord's day, that we, abstaining from earthly business and the snares of this world, may serve God only; giving honour and reverence to this day on account of the hope of our Resurrection which we have in it. For, as our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ rose again the third day from the dead, so we also hope that we shall arise at the last day.

It appears also in Holy Scripture that the day is holy; it was the first day of all; in it were formed the elements of the world: in it the angels were created: in it Christ also rose from the dead: in it the Holy Ghost came down from heaven upon the Apostles: in it manna was first given from heaven in the desert. From such proofs as these, Sunday comes before us as an illustrious day; and the holy doctors of the Church ordained us to transfer all the glory of the Jewish Sabbath to it. What they did in figure, we may do in reality; because then will be our true rest when the resurrection shall have been accomplished, and our remuneration both in soul and body perfected.

Let us observe, therefore, brethren, the Sunday, and sanctify it, as it was commanded the Jews concerning their Sabbath, for their lawgiver said, *From evening to evening ye shall observe your Sabbaths.* Let us see therefore that our rest be not in vain; but from the evening of the Saturday to the evening of the Sunday, have nothing to do with any country work, or any other business, and give yourself up to God's worship only. Thus shall we rightly sanctify the Sabbath of the Lord, according to His commandment, *Ye shall do no work in it.* Let every one therefore who can, come to vespers and to nocturns, and there pray in the congregation of the Church, confessing his sins to God. And he who cannot do so much, at least let him pray in his own house, and not neglect to pay his vows to God, and to render the service due to Him. And, on the day itself, let no one fail to attend the holy celebration of Mass, nor remain idle at home, when others are going to church; let no man occupy himself about hunting, and engage in the devil's work; nor roam about the fields and woods, shouting and laughing, instead of raising from his heart sighs and prayers to God. And (what is yet more detestable) some who come to church, neither enter, nor pray, nor wait with silence for the celebration of Mass; but when the lessons are being read within, they are either transacting law business, or indulging in calumny without, or giving themselves up to dice or to useless games. Sometimes also (which is even yet worse), some give way to excessive passion, and strive furiously so as to use arms or clubs, and even to commit murder. And this takes place among those who, full of envy and hatred, having the devil as their guide, go to church, not that they may benefit themselves, but that they may hurt others. If such an one there perishes by murder, or is hurried off by sudden death, where else will he go than with him whose footsteps he was following to eternal punishment? Do not such things as these, my brethren; do not deceive yourselves; do not, when you are gathered together, give place to the devil, but rather prepare yourselves as a dwelling-place for Christ. Do not give your attention, outside, to vain talk; but within to psalms and prayers. Do not talk to each other in church, but be quiet. For there are many, and principally women, who so chatter in church, who so keep on talking, that they neither hear the lessons themselves, nor allow others to hear them. Such an assembling together after such a fashion ought not, my brethren, to be in the house of God; we ought not thus to stand in the presence of God and of His holy angels.

Furthermore, I wish to complain to you of that which is a subject of great grief. There are some, and they principally the mighty men of this world, who, when they come to church, are not devout in celebrating the praises of God, but oblige the Priest to shorten the Mass and to sing it as they choose; nor is he able to follow out the rite of the Church on account of their gluttony and avarice; and they thus allot one moment of the day to the service of God, and all the rest of it, and the night also, to their own pleasures. . . .

I beseech you, beloved fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, by the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by His coming Kingdom and Judgment, that ye withdraw yourselves from every man who walks disorderly, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called; and that ye neglect not the honour which ye have received, but constantly keep in mind the redemption which is in Christ Jesus. Ye are called the sons of God, because the true Son of God hath set you free. Study by a good life to please such a Father, to the end that He may not deliver you as most evil servants to everlasting punishment, but may bring you as dear children to our heavenly Country, that ye may be coheirs of His Son Jesus Christ.

ATTO OF VERCELLI

(c. 885–960)

ATTO left behind him little claim to greatness except, perhaps, his reputation as a good shepherd of his Episcopal flock. He honored his people by taking his preaching obligation seriously and admonished those of his diocese quietly, simply, and briefly. The themes and treatments characteristic of this age of generally unheroic preaching are here sufficiently in evidence. MPL 134:842–43. The translation of Ne.Mpp. 45–47 is from Cardinal Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* (Rome, 1832), VI, 21.

[19]

ON PALM SUNDAY (Sermon VII)

We trust in the promise of our Lord, beloved brethren, that no terror has oppressed your heart concerning His glorious Resurrection, no doubt has entered your mind; for the fear of the Apostles and the other saints of that time was nourished by the darkness of unbelief. But their weakness was the increase of our perfection. The events which in these last days have been shedding forth their glory, as it were, out of a thick forest, are now preached with perfect clearness. Hence ye may collect that, by how much the more we announce the Passion of the Lord, by so much the more we approach to the celebration of His Resurrection. There are yet six days till we reach the joy of that festival; and the sixth week is now accomplished since I reminded you of the beginning of the fast. Even in these six days, beloved brethren, try to recover your ground, if ye have in any respect failed in the six preceding weeks. It is true that there are certain men who esteem some days of this week — that is, Thursday and Saturday — as entailing a less strict obligation to fast; but this is against the decrees of Canons, is not confirmed by the authority of Holy Scripture, and appears to me anything but right. For the nearer we approach our Paschal joy, so much the purer we ought to make ourselves by fasting, by praying, by watching, and by all the works of mercy; and furthermore, to wash out our sins by continual weeping. And if any one thinks that he need not weep for his own sins, at least he ought in these days to sorrow for the sufferings of his Lord. For though He were God before all worlds, coming in the form of a servant, and being spit upon and scourged by wicked men, for their and our salvation, He did not abhor at this time to lay down His life. Let each one of you, my brethren, suffer with Him, carrying His reproach, and lamenting the blindness of those from whom He endured it. He Himself hath said in the Gospel, *Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted* (Matt. 5:4; D. 5:5). Grief for a little while is now in season, to the end that we may more freely rejoice in the holy Resurrection. The Psalmist also saith, *What shall I render to the Lord for all the benefits He hath done unto Me? I will receive the cup of salvation, and call upon the Name of the Lord* (Ps. 116:12–13; D. 115:12–13). By the cup we may understand both open persecution and hidden sorrow, which in some way or other must be tasted by every Christian. Let us prepare ourselves, therefore, beloved, for the coming festival, to which the Lord grant us to attain in a worthy manner. Let us, then, rejoice, not in delicacy of good living, but by sending before us the works of justice and equity. For it is better to make three middling shirts, with which you may clothe both yourself and the poor of Christ, than if you were to make one of very precious materials for yourself. And it is better to have simple food prepared, by which you may entertain a number of the needy at your table, than if you were to spend a large sum of money on delicious food, and live riotously with your own family, while the poor of Christ were suffering and perishing with cold and nakedness in your presence. For blessed John the Apostle saith, *Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, how dwelleth the love of God in him?* (I John 3:17). Fly, therefore, avarice, and love charity, without which no man shall merit to behold God. Love, peace, and joy, be with you for ever; which He vouchsafe to bestow on you, Whose kingdom [is without end. Amen.]

AELFRIC

(c. 955–1020)

EDUCATED under Aethelwold, Aelfric steeped himself in Christian literature and saints' lore. He became the first Abbot of Eynsham, near Oxford, in which office he died. He produced various homiletical, grammatical, and hagiographical works to earn the distinction of having been, not only one of the leading scholars of his age, but also a sensitive collector and editor of effective homilies. The following selection with its emphasis on the pastoral virtues is from Ael.Thrp. I, 239–45.

THE SECOND SUNDAY AFTER EASTER

DIXIT Jesus discipulis suis, Ego sum pastor bonus: et reliqua (John 10:11)

This gospel, which has now been read, says, that Jesus said of himself, *I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his own life for his sheep. The hireling, who is not the right shepherd, seeth the wolf coming, and he forsaketh the sheep and fleeth; and the wolf teareth one, and scattereth the others* . . . (vss. 11–12).

Christ is good by nature, and in sooth there is nothing good, save God only. If any creature is good, then is its goodness of the Creator, who is supremely good. He said, *The good shepherd giveth his own life for his sheep.* Our Redeemer is the good shepherd, and we christian men are his sheep, and he gave his own life for our redemption. He did as he exhorted, and he thereby manifested what he enjoined. A good shepherd was Peter, and good was Paul, and good were the apostles, who gave their lives for God's people and for the right faith; but their goodness was of the head, which is Christ, who is their head, and they are his limbs.

Every bishop and every teacher is placed as a shepherd over God's people, that they may shield the people against the wolf. The wolf is the devil, who lies in ambush about God's church, and watches how he may fordo the souls of christian men with sins. Then shall the shepherd, that is, the bishop or other teacher, withstand the fierce wolf with doctrine and with prayers. With doctrine he shall teach them, that they may know what the devil teaches for men's perdition, and what God commands to be observed for the attainment of everlasting life. He shall pray for them, that God may preserve the strong and heal the weak. He is to be accounted strong who withstands the precepts of the devil; he is weak who falls into sins. But the teacher will be guiltless, if he direct the people with doctrine, and mediate for them with God. These two things he shall do for the people, and also help others with his own; and if it so happen, give his own life for the saving of the people.

The hireling fleeth when he seeth the wolf. He is a hireling and not a shepherd, who is engaged in worldly things, and loves dignity and perishable rewards, and has no inward love for God's sheep. He takes heed of treasures, and rejoices in dignity, and has his reward in this life, and will be cut off from the everlasting reward. Thou knowest not who is a hireling, who a shepherd, before the wolf comes; but the wolf makes manifest in what manner he watches the sheep. The wolf comes to the sheep, and some he devours, some he scatters, when the fierce devil instigates christian men, some to adultery, some he inflames to covetousness, some he lifts up to pride, some through anger he divides, and with divers temptations spiritually slays: for the hireling is excited neither by care nor love, but flees, because he considers worldly advantages, and leaves unheeded the loss of the sheep. He flees not with body, but with mind. He flees because he saw iniquity and held silence. He flees because he is a hireling and not a shepherd, as though it were so said, He cannot stand against the perils of the sheep, who guardeth not the sheep with love, but provideth for himself; that is, he loves worldly gain, and not God's folk.

The unrighteous powerful man also is a wolf, who robs christians, and oppresses the humble with his power: for the hireling, or the mercenary, dares not withstand his unrighteousness lest he lose his dignity, and the worldly gain which he loves more than christian men. Concerning this the prophet Ezechiel wrote, thus saying, *Ye shepherds, hear the word of God: My sheep are scattered through your heedlessness, and are devoured. Ye care for your own sustenance, and not for that of the sheep; therefore I will require the sheep at your hands, and I will cause you to depart from the fold, and I will deliver my flock from you. I myself will gather my sheep that were scattered, and I will feed them in an abundant pasture: that which was lost I will seek and bring again; that which was maimed I will heal; the sick I will strengthen, and feed the strong, and I will pasture them in judgment and in righteousness* (cf. Ezek. 34:7–16).

These words spake God through the prophet Ezechiel, concerning teachers and concerning his people. Ye should be zealous for your own need (though it so happen that the teacher be heedless), and do as Christ taught, " If the teacher teach well, and give evil example, do as he teacheth, and not according to his example." Jesus says of himself, *I am a good shepherd, and I know my sheep, and they know me* (John 10:14). That is, I love them, and they love me. He who loves not truth, he yet knows not God. But consider whether ye are God's sheep, whether ye yet know him, whether ye with truth love him. He said, *As my Father knoweth me, I also know him, and I give my own life for my sheep* (vs. 15). He knows his Father through himself, and we know him through him. With that love with which he would die for mankind, he manifested how greatly he loves his Father. He said, *I have other sheep which are not of this fold, and those I shall bring, and they will hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd* (vs. 16).

This he spake in the land of Judah: there was a fold of men who believed in God in that nation. The other sheep are those of all other countries who incline to God; and Christ will bring them all to one fold in eternal life. Many are the shepherds under Christ, and yet he alone is Shepherd of them all, who liveth and ruleth with the Father and with the Holy Ghost ever to eternity. Amen.

WULFSTAN

(d. 1023)

ALONG with Aelfric, Wulfstan represents the homiletic vigor and pastoral zeal of an age in the throes of physical and spiritual rebirth. As Bishop of London and Archbishop of York, this preacher summoned his people to judgment for their collective sins in order to avert their final condemnation on the Great Day. One discovers that prophets were not all dead when preaching could thus cite causes and propound cures with such lean rhetoric and disciplined mind. The translation is by Dr. Elizabeth W. Manwaring, of Wellesley College. Reprinted by permission of the publishers from Albert S. Cook and Chauncey B. Tinker, *Select Translations from Old English Prose.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1908. Pp. 194–95, 198–99 (Cook & Tnkr.Tr.).

WULFSTAN'S SERMON TO THE ENGLISH AT A TIME WHEN THE DANES ESPECIALLY PERSECUTED THEM, WHICH WAS IN THE YEAR 1014 FROM THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST

Dearly beloved, understand the truth: this world is in haste, and drawing nigh the end. Hence is the later in the world ever the worse, so that things must needs wax very evil before the coming of Antichrist. Likewise, consider earnestly that for these many years the devil has led this people too widely astray; that men have held little faith towards one another, for all their fair speaking; that injustice has too much prevailed in the land; and that they have been few who thought upon a remedy as diligently as they ought. Daily has evil been heaped upon evil, and men have worked iniquity and manifold unrighteousness far too generally throughout this whole nation.

On account of these things we have suffered many losses and indignities; and if we are to expect any relief, we must deserve it better at God's hands than we have done hitherto. For with great deserts have we earned the misery which lies over us; and with exceeding great deserts we must obtain the cure from God, if our condition is henceforth to become better. We know very well that a wide breach demands much mending, and a great fire abundant water if the fire is to be in any wise quenched. The necessity is urgent upon every man henceforth to keep God's law with diligence, and fulfil God's commandments with uprightness.

* * *

Nor is it any wonder if we are miserable, because we know very well that for these many years men have seldom recked what they wrought, in word or in deed. This our religion, as it seems, has been greatly sinned against by manifold sins and multiplied transgressions: by deeds fell and foul, by covetousness and greed, by theft and robbery, by wrongful selling of men into slavery, by heathen practices, by treasons and plots, by violations of law, by seditions, by attacks of kinsman on kinsman, by manslaughter, by injuries of holy men, by adulteries, incests, and divers fornications. Thereto, as we said before, by violated oaths and broken pledges, and various treacheries far and wide, more than ought to be are ruined and for-sworn. Breaches of festivals are commonly committed. There are in this land all too many adversaries of God, malignant persecutors of the Church, and cruel tyrants in overgreat number; proud scorners of divine law and Christian practice, and foolish mockers, most often of those things that most certainly and rightfully belong to the law of God. Thereby has grown up the common evil wont, that men are ashamed of good deeds rather than of evil, because too often men contemn good deeds with derision, and overmuch revile God-fearing men; and most men despise and greet with too frequent insult such as love righteousness and have in any measure the fear of God. Because men do thus, despising all that they ought to glorify, and hating what they ought to love, they pervert all too many to evil thoughts and acts, so that they are not ashamed to sin greatly, and altogether offend against God Himself; yet because of empty words of abuse they are ashamed to amend their misdeeds, as the books teach: like fools, who, for their infirmity of pride, will not save themselves until the time comes when they cannot though they would.

But, oh, in God's name, let us do as is needful for us — save ourselves as we may by utmost diligence, lest we perish all of us together! Let us do as behooves us, turn toward the right, and in some measure forsake the evil, and earnestly amend those things wherein we aforetime offended. Let us love God and follow God's laws, and perform with eagerness that which we promised when we received baptism, or those promised who were our sponsors in baptism; and let us rightly direct both words and works, and carefully cleanse our hearts, and observe with heed oaths and pledges, and have some faith amongst us, free from wicked practices. Let us often meditate upon the Great Judgment whither we all are bound, and save ourselves with zeal from the raging fire of hell-torment, and secure for ourselves the glory and gladness which God has prepared for such as work His will upon earth. May God help us. Amen.

PETER DAMIAN

(1007–1072)

THE student will have to look to the *Gomorrah* and other broadsides against clerical excesses to discover Damian in the role of a fiery reformer. Able cardinal as well as friend and abettor of Pope Gregory VII, Peter was also a confirmed renunciant. Like many others of his age, he found it no waste of social energy to nurture in monastic community the inward yearnings of the soul. Preached to such congregations, rather than to the people and the clergy as a whole, his sermons here exemplified have almost a mystic exaltation such as that found in his nostalgically beautiful poem, " On the Joys and Glory of Paradise." MPL 144:543–45, 764–66. The translation of Ne.Mpp. 58–60, 62–63, is from the ed. of Constantine Caietanus (Paris, 1663, 4 Vols. in 1, folio), 17, 110.

[22]

THE LAST JOURNEY OF OUR LORD TO JERUSALEM (Sermon VII. On Palm Sunday)

But when I consider Thee, Lord Jesus, my admiration and my compassion increases. Why dost Thou go to the Jews who lie in wait for Thy soul? They are betrayers and murderers; trust not Thyself to them, for they love Thee not; they will not pity Thee; they will condemn Thee to a most base death. Why dost Thou hasten to endure such mocking, such scourging, such blaspheming? to be crowned with thorns, to be spit upon, to have vinegar given Thee to drink, to be pierced with the spear, to die, and to be laid in the sepulchre? In this Thy resolution, in this Thy design, my soul, when I consider it, is overwhelmed. I grieve with Thee, Lord Jesus, over the miseries of Thy Passion. The advice of Peter, Thy friend, is that which I should have given, who said, *Be it far from Thee, Lord; this shall not happen unto Thee* (Matt. 16:22). It is not meet that the Son of God should taste of death. But this differs from Thy counsel, Who art determined to undergo Thy Passion. What then? Are we to follow the advice of Peter or of Jesus? of the servant or of the Lord? of the disciple or of the Master? But *the servant is not greater than his Lord, nor is the disciple more learned than his Master* (John 13:16). We must acquiesce, therefore, in the determination of the Lord and Master, Who needs no other counsel; lest it be said to us with Peter, *Get thee behind Me, Satan; thou savourest not the things that be of God* (Mark 8:33). For Peter knew not that Christ had from the beginning foreordained His Passion, *that by death He might destroy our death*, and by rising again might restore our life.

That, then, which Divine Wisdom had foreordained, He desired wisely to accomplish. He willed, according to the words of the Prophet, to be humble and poor, to ride upon an ass, and so to enter into Jerusalem; as the Evangelist relates, saying, *When Jesus drew nigh to Jerusalem, and was come to Bethphage and the Mount of Olives, then sent He two of His disciples, saying: Go in to the village over against you, and ye shall straightway find an ass tied, and a colt with her; loose them, and bring them unto Me* (Matt. 21:1–2). This village is the world, which rages against the Lord and His disciples, not only by persecuting them with reproaches and injuries, but by inflicting on them a most cruel death. By the ass and the colt which were tied in the village are signified the people of the Jews, and that of the Gentiles, both of them in bondage to the chain of their sins. The ass, accustomed to the yoke, typifies the Jewish people, that were subject to the yoke of the law. The colt, that was wanton and unbridled, denotes the Gentiles, who walked after the lusts of their own hearts. The two disciples sent into the village are the preachers of the two Testaments, endued with twofold charity, the love of God and the love of our neighbour; or else Peter and Paul, of whom one was the Apostle of the Jews, the other of the Gentiles. Whence the same Paul: *For He, Who worked in Peter his Apostleship, worked also with me among the Gentiles* (Gal. 2:8). These loosed both people from the error of infidelity, and, by the word of their preaching, brought them to the faith of Jesus Christ. The Lord sat upon them, because He justified them by faith in Him; as it is written, *The soul of the righteous is the seat of wisdom.* Concerning the justification of both, the Apostle thus writes: *Is He the God of the Jews only? Is He not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also; seeing it is One God Which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and uncircumcision through faith* (Rom. 3:29–30).

[23]

THAT WE MUST TAKE UP OUR CROSS AND FOLLOW THE LORD (Sermon XLVII — I. On the Exaltation of the Cross)

Give ear, therefore, to the counsel of thy God, not only reigning with the Father, but as thy most sweet friend, hanging upon the Cross; for neither can He be deceived, because He is wisdom, nor doth He desire to deceive thee, for whom He endured such ignominy and such pain. *If any one*, saith He, *will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me* (Matt. 16:24). Hear a counsel, not a precept. For if it were such a precept that we must obey it whether we would or not, we might look for perpetual trouble; but when He saith, *If — if any man will follow Me,* He has put it in our own power whether we will keep the same course or not. A mighty labour, indeed; but an incomparable reward. *After Me,* He saith. We must go after Him, because He is the Truth, that we may not be deceived; *through* Him, because He is the Way, that we may not err; *to* Him, because He is the Life, that we may not die. *I,* saith He, *am the Way, the Truth, and the Life* (John 14:6). It follows, *Let him deny himself.* Our first parent, when he had been circumscribed by prefixed limits of obedience, roamed forth into the open country of an evil liberty. He had it in command to prefer the Will of his Creator to his own; but using, or rather abusing, his own will, when he desired to make himself happy, he destroyed himself. Driven, therefore, from that happy inheritance, he obtained exile for a country, death for life, ignominy for glory. If thou wouldest, therefore, return to thine inheritance, deny thine own will.

RAOUL ARDENT

(d. 1101)

THIS largely neglected, but always rewarding, preacher was a pastor by calling and a stigmatizer by avocation of all who neglected the Scriptures. A scholar and writer of first rank, he long enjoyed a popular reputation as a powerful homilist. Out of translation in his native France for about a century, his sermons deserve a modern revival. He is presented here in the Biblical fearlessness that usually wins more posthumous patronage than contemporary approval from professionalized Churchmen. The translation by Dr. Louise P. Smith is from MPL 155: 1406–10.

ON THE TRANSFIGURATION OF THE LORD (A Sermon on the Epistle of St. Peter Which Is Read on That Holy Day)

I will endeavor that you frequently have the means after my decease, whereby you may keep a memory of these things . . . (II Pet. 1:12)

This passage, dear brethren, has four parts. First, Peter shows how hard he labors for the improvement of his sons. Second, he shows his teaching to be of such a kind and so essential that they must be mindful of it. Third, he confirms its truth by both apostolic and prophetic witness. Fourth, he praises the writings of the prophets.

First, he shows his great anxiety to improve the souls entrusted to him, when he says that he will endeavor constantly to make the teaching of the Gospel known to them so that after his death they will keep it in memory. He, of course, taught them orally. He also taught them by his letters, and he taught them by the good example of his own life. And they, like good sheep, continued mindful of what they had heard.

We also, my brethren, who, like Peter, serve in the Church must follow in his footsteps so far as we can. We should be anxious to teach the souls committed to us, and should make the Gospel teaching known to them. If we cannot teach like Peter by our blood in martyrdom, we can teach by example and word. For these two instruments every pastor must employ; and he who has them not is no true pastor.

Example without words is not enough. Remember how Eli was blamed (I Sam. 2:27–36), although he himself lived rightly, because he did not sufficiently correct his sons. So the Lord spoke through the prophet: *If a man has done wickedness and thou declarest it not to him . . . that he may be converted from his wicked way . . . the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but I will require his blood at thy hand* (Ezek. 3:18).

Again, the word is not enough without example. As the Lord spoke by the prophet: *When you drank the clearest water, you troubled the rest with your feet. . . . And your* (D. *my*) *sheep . . . drank what your feet had troubled* (Ezek. 34:18, 19). Now shepherds (that is, pastors) *drink clear water* when they understand and preach sound doctrine. They *trouble the rest with* their *feet* when they defile their preaching by evil living. The sheep drink the troubled water when they follow the example of the evil life instead of the preaching they have heard.

But, my brethren, when I look at our lives and the lives of those under our direction, I find few (and this is lamentable) either true preachers or true sheep. For present-day pastors are neither themselves mindful of the Scriptures, nor do they make others mindful. They strive for worldly wealth. In aim and in deed, they show themselves to be not shepherds but hirelings (cf. John 10:11–14). They are not pastors in aim because they seek what is their own, not what is Christ's. Are there not today prelates who are in the Church, not in order to benefit souls, but in order that they themselves may be exalted, honored, and entertained? They do not ask in which church they can aid more souls, but in which church they can collect more money, find more opportunity for profitable selling. In act, they prove themselves not to be pastors, because they make no effort to feed the sheep by example or by word, but fatten themselves on their offerings. Compare the prophecy: *Woe to the shepherds of Israel, that fed themselves: should not the flocks be fed by the shepherds? You ate the milk and you clothed yourselves with the wool, and you killed that which was fat. . . . The weak you have not strengthened and that which was sick you have not healed: and that which was broken you have not bound up, and that which was driven away you have not brought again, neither have you sought that which was lost: but you ruled over them with rigor, and with a high hand. And my sheep were scattered because there was no shepherd: and they become the prey of all the beasts of the field. . . . Therefore, ye shepherds, hear the word of the Lord: Behold I myself come upon the shepherds: I will require my flock at their hand* (Ezek. 34:2–10).

You see, brethren, what we have just read we can observe today. The fat we destroy by our bad example. Those weak in sin we do not strengthen with our advice. Those broken by tribulations we do not console with our counsel. Those astray in error we do not call back. Those lost in despair we do not seek. When an ass falls down, there is some one to raise it; when a soul perishes, there is none to care. What kind of pastor is he who is more concerned with the ills of his pig and donkey than with the trouble of a Christian soul?

If the pastors act like this, what do the sheep do? Certainly it is not strange if the members are afflicted in the affliction of the head. The duty of the sheep is to hear and obey. But today the sinful sheep are unwilling to hear their pastors. They merely say: " The priest preaches to extract the cash." Even if they listen, they are certainly not mindful of what they have heard. They do not wish to obey their pastor but to judge him. " Why," they say, " do you not do yourself what you preach? " *Thou that sayest men should not commit adultery, committest adultery: that men should not steal, stealest* (Rom. 2:22, 21). When two or three walk together to the forum or to a country-house, then they judge their pastor. They carp and condemn, heedless of the word which the Lord spoke: *The disciple is not above his master* (Luke 6:40). And this verse: *Whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do, but according to their works do ye not* (Matt. 23:3).

These wicked sons incur the curse of Ham. When Noah was drunk and exposed himself, Ham mocked him; but Shem and Japheth, turning their eyes away, covered him again. When Noah woke, he cursed the seed of Ham, but Shem and Japheth he blessed (Gen. 9:21–27). My brethren, there is no pastor so perfect that he does not do something of which to be ashamed. But it is a bad son who mocks him and publicly repeats the evil tale. A good servant hides the sin of his master, conceals and excuses it. Consequently, the latter merits a blessing, the former, a curse.

And now, my brethren, because we both have sinned, let us both lament, let us both hasten to do penance. Let us, like good shepherds, endeavor to acquaint you with the Gospel teaching both by word and by example. And you also, like good sheep, endeavor constantly, by listening and obeying, to remember what you have heard.

The second part follows. In this Peter shows that his teaching is so important and of such a kind that all ought to keep it in mind. He continues: *For we have not, by following artificial fables, made known to you the power and wisdom* (D. *presence*) *of our Lord Jesus Christ* (II Pet. 1:16). As if to say: Not fables, but truth and wisdom we make known to you. By these words he condemns those who ignore the Gospels and read poetic fables, bucolic songs, and comedies. For boys, this may have the excuse of necessity; but for others, it is a voluntary offense. How can the lips which daily proclaim Jupiter omnipotent or invoke divine Venus and the rest of the deities — or rather demons — pray to God and offer Him pure praise and petition?

We have . . . made known, he says, *to you the power and wisdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, Saviour and King* (II Pet. 1:16 and cf. vs. 11). He does not say the humanity or weakness, which are known to all, but *the power and wisdom,* dubious to unbelievers but assured truth to the faithful. Brethren, although God could have redeemed us by revealing openly His power and wisdom, He did not choose to do so. He hid His divine power in human weakness, and His wisdom in foolishness. For to men it has seemed foolishness that God became man, that the Impassible suffered, that the Immortal died. Therefore, the power of God, by weakness, conquered the power of the Devil; the wisdom of God, by foolishness, conquered the craft of the Devil. *We preach,* St. Paul says, *Christ crucified, unto the Jews indeed a stumbling block, and unto the Gentiles foolishness: but unto them that are called both Jews and Greeks . . . the power of God and the wisdom of God. For . . . the weakness of God is stronger than men and the foolishness of God is wiser than men* (I Cor. 1:23–25).

Let us, therefore, brethren, learn from the example of our Redeemer to conquer the evil of this world, not by pride, but by humility, by patience, and gentleness. Let us learn to conquer the wisdom of this age, not by craftiness, but by the foolishness of God. For indeed, to this age it seems foolish and futile to despise the world, to reject the age, to forsake all things, to love poverty and inferior station, to desire things invisible. And yet, this foolishness conquers the wisdom of both devil and man.

The third section follows. In this Peter supports the truth with apostolic, prophetic testimony. He begins with the apostolic, for he says: *But we were made eyewitnesses of His greatness* (II Pet. 1:16). For Peter himself, and James, and John, who were with the Lord on the mountain when He was transfigured, could bear witness to what they had seen and heard; since according to the law, *in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall stand* (Deut. 19:15).

Now the Lord showed His glory to His disciples for three reasons: to strengthen them in their faith in His divinity, to confirm them in their hope of the resurrection, to make them valid witnesses of both. Therefore our text says: *Made eyewitnesses of His greatness,* and continues: *For Christ received from God the Father honor and glory* (II Pet. 1:17). Glory in this: that *His face did shine as the sun. . . . His garments became white as snow* (Matt. 17:2). Certainly, in relation to the real glory of the Son, this is very little, since all the saints in Heaven, their true Fatherland, shall shine more than the sun. But so much of divine Glory was manifest in Him as the weak mortal sight of the mortal disciples could gaze upon.

Truly, the Knowledge of the Divine, which blazes in the saints like the sun, is known mystically. The sun does three things: it dries, it enlightens, it warms. Just so, Knowledge of the Divine Countenance dries up and consumes in the saints every thing earthly. Also, it enwarms them so that it renders them fervent in love, that the more they see Him, the more they desire to see Him.

By *garments* we are to understand either the flesh of Christ, or the saints of whom it was written: *Thou shalt be clothed with all these as with a garment* (D. *ornament*) (Isa. 49:18). These garments shall be *white as snow.* Snow is condensed from the rain of heaven and made white by great cold. By *snow,* therefore, is meant chastity. Chastity is gained by freezing, that is, by numbing, the flesh, but only with grace. It is not given by grace without numbing, nor by numbing without grace. Those are mistaken who desire to keep the body chaste, but hope to attain chastity from grace alone without labor. God grants virtue, not to those who sleep, but to those who labor. Also, those are mistaken who attempt to gain chastity only by mortifying the flesh. For labor is useless without grace. Even in those who are thin and pale from fasting, fires still burn unless restrained by the grace of God. So Jerome speaks of himself: *My face grew pale with fasting, and my mind burned with desires.*

The Son received honor from God the Father, when He designated Him Lord of the Law and the Prophets, through Moses and Elijah, between whom He appeared in majesty. And in the witness which the Father bore to Him, as the text continues: *This voice coming down to Him from the excellent glory* (II Pet. 1:17) — that is, from the glory of the Father magnifying the Son. How? With these words: *This is my beloved Son,* (vs. 17) — that is: He is not another, He is My Son, not adopted like others, but Son in essence, in Whom alone I am pleased. For in Adam and the rest, however saintly, something has always displeased Me. *And this voice,* the text says, *we heard* *brought from heaven when we were . . . on that holy mount* (vs. 18). Peter had said above: made *eyewitnesses of Him;* here he says: *we heard.* As if to say: You surely ought to believe us when we testify to you what we have both seen and heard.

He continues: *And we have the more firm prophetical word* (vs. 19). What he calls *more firm* is " exceedingly firm." Or perhaps *more firm* means more firm with reference to the Jews, who accepted the witness of the prophets rather than of the apostles.

The fourth section follows. In this Peter praises prophecy and those who give heed to it, saying, *whereunto you do well to attend* (vs. 19). Here he condemns, on the other hand, those who are unwilling to pay attention to the reading of the Scriptures. There are many such today, even among officials of Holy Church, who scorn the Scriptures and pursue hawking, hunting, dice, sports, and idle amusements; who even despise the Holy Scriptures and pursue secular law, law-suits, and vain inventions. With these words the ordinary people also are blamed, because they prefer to hear popular songs, banjos, and idle shows rather than the Holy Scripture. *Approaching* (D. *attend*), he says, *as to a light that shineth in a dark place* (vs. 19). The world is dark with a three-fold darkness: with the darkness of sins, the darkness of ignorance, the darkness of misery. The Holy Scripture is truly a light for us in this world. Following it we avoid sin, ignorance, and, at the end, misery. And this light is necessary for us while we are in this age, *until the day* — the great day of judgment which will have no evening — *dawn* in the resurrection, which will be like the morning of eternity. *And the day-star* — that is, Divine Glory — *arise in our* (D. *your*) *hearts* (vs. 19), driving out from deep within us the darkness of sins, the darkness of ignorance, the darkness of misery. And *with open face* (II Cor. 3:18) *we see God as He is* (I John 3:2).

By the gift of Him who with the Father and the Holy Spirit liveth and reigneth forever and ever. Amen.

ANSELM OF CANTERBURY

(1033–1109)

THE Anselm of the *Cur-Deus-Homo,* the moving prayers, and the unspectacular sermons is not three different persons. But he needs to be appreciated for all these aspects of his deep researching in the mind and his humble commitment, in faith, to God's truth. The almost monotonous placidity of his allegorized homilies seems unreal in the face of the endless vexations that beset this Italian monk and theologian as Archbishop of Canterbury. Perhaps in the sermons preserved to us in such paucity he was addressing an exclusively monastic audience during his calmer years at Bec. MPL 158:597–602. Translation from Ne.Mpp. 80, 86–90.

OUR LORD WALKING ON THE SEA (Homily III. On the Gospel According to Saint Matthew)

Matt. 14:22. *And straightway Jesus constrained His disciples to get into a ship, and to go before Him to the other side, while He sent the multitude away.* In this lection, according to its mystical interpretation, we have a summary description of the state of the Church, from the coming of the Saviour to the end of the world. For the Lord *constrained His disciples to get into a ship,* when He committed the Church to the government of the Apostles and their followers. *And* thus *to go before Him unto the other side,* — that is, to bear onwards towards the haven of the celestial country, before He Himself should entirely depart from the world.

* * *

And when Peter was come down out of the ship, he walked on the water to go to Jesus (Matt. 14:29). This has been fulfilled, and still is fulfilling, when holy preachers are sent forth to heathen nations. For Peter comes down out of the ship as often as any holy doctor descends from the bosom of the Church, his Mother, where he has been educated, and goes with pious condescension to them that are without, that he may show them the way of salvation. And he walks upon the water while he both conquers and tramples on temptation, and while he subdues to himself the multitudes by causing them to believe in Christ. *Walks,* I say, and not *stands:* because he is ever more and more entirely *forgetting the things which are behind,* and more and more *reaching forth to those things which are before* (Phil. 3:13), and advancing in the daily increase of virtues. And all these things he doth, that he may come to Jesus, Who is the Saviour and the Immutable Truth; to the end that, laying hold of Him, and keeping close to Him, he may possess in Him true salvation and immutability.

It follows: *But when he saw the wind boisterous, he was afraid; and beginning to sink, he cried, saying, Lord, save me* (Matt. 14:30). The boisterous wind is the vehement endeavour of evil spirits to stir up the hearts of men, and make them restless in the persecution of the faithful; or else mightily to seduce them to evil. And that wind will then indeed be boisterous, when Satan, in the latter days, shall be let loose in his full strength against the righteous. And this appears now to be set forth in this sentence; in which Peter, who typifies the order of preachers, is related to have feared when he saw the wind boisterous. For who, even among those that are perfect, shall not fear, when that savage persecution shall rage everywhere, under Antichrist? And when he fears he will sink a little, because on account of the horror of the torments which shall be inflicted on the saints, and from his wonder at the deceiving signs which shall be done by the followers of Antichrist, he will fluctuate a little in his heart, and will somewhat, in the baser part of his mind, give way to thoughts, by which, unless the Hand of Christ raise him, he may easily be altogether whelmed. But because he is elect, he will cry to Christ, *Lord, save me:* and so by His help he will be raised up. *For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be. And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved; but for the elect's sake, those days shall be shortened* (Matt. 24:21–22).

Whence it here also aptly follows: *And immediately Jesus stretched forth His Hand and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt* (Matt. 14:31)? For the Saviour quickly stretches forth His Hand of salutary help to each of those that are His, because He will not suffer them to be tempted above that they are able to bear. And He will quickly *catch him* — that is, will hold him and lift him up by a certain power of Divine assistance. *O thou of little faith,* saith He, *wherefore didst thou doubt?* Whose faith will not be shaken in that tribulation, when the martyr who shall pour forth his blood for Christ shall be able to work no miracle, and the torturer shall perform miracles before his very eyes? Let us consider, therefore, what will be that temptation of the human soul; for whose courage will not then be utterly shaken from the very depths of his thoughts, when he who tortures by cruelty is also illustrious with miracles? For with such iniquity and deceit will Antichrist and his ministers be then let loose against the righteous, that the hearts of even the blessed shall be struck with no small fear. Whence it is written: *Insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect* (Matt. 24:24). Which we must understand to be said, not because the elect can fall, but because they will tremble with great terror, as if they were about to fall.

We may notice, also, that this commotion of the waves, and tottering or half-sinking of Peter, takes place even in our time, according to the spiritual sense, daily. For every man's own besetting sin is the tempest. You love God; you walk upon the sea; the swellings of this world are under your feet. You love the world; it swallows you up: its wont is to devour, not to bear up, its lovers. But when your heart fluctuates with the desire of sin, call on the Divinity of Christ, that you may conquer that desire. You think that the wind is then contrary when the adversity of this world rises against you, and not also when its prosperity fawns upon you. For when wars, when tumults, when famine, when pestilence comes, when any private calamity happens even to individual men, then the wind is thought adverse, and then it is held right to call upon God; but when the world smiles with temporal felicity, then, forsooth, the wind is not contrary. Do not, by such tokens as these, judge of tranquillity of the time; but judge of it by your own temptations. See if you are tranquil within yourself; see if no internal tempest is overwhelming you. It is a proof of great virtue to struggle with happiness, so that it shall not seduce, corrupt, subvert. Learn to trample on this world; remember to trust in Christ. And if your foot be moved, — if you totter, — if there are some temptations that you cannot overcome, — if you begin to sink, cry out to Jesus, *Lord, save me.* In Peter, therefore, the common condition of all of us is to be considered; so that, if the wind of temptation endeavours to upset us in any matter, or its billows to swallow us up, we may cry to Christ. He shall stretch forth His Hand, and preserve us from the deep.

It follows: *And when He was come into the ship, the wind ceased* (Matt. 14:32). In the last day He shall ascend into the ship of the Church, because then He shall sit upon the throne of His glory; which throne may not unfitly be understood of the Church. For He Who by faith and good works now and always dwells in the Church, shall then by the manifestation of His glory enter into it. And then the wind shall cease; because evil spirits shall no more have the power of sending forth against it the flames of temptation or the commotions of troubles: for then all things shall be in peace and at rest.

It follows: *Then they that were with Him in the ship came and worshipped Him, saying, Of a truth Thou art the Son of God* (Matt. 14:33). They who remain faithfully in the Church amidst the tempest of temptations, will approach to Him with joy, and entering into His kingdom with Him, will worship Him; and praising Him perpetually, will affirm Him of a truth to be the Son of God. Then, also, that will happen which is written concerning the elect raised from death: *All flesh shall come and shall worship before My Face, saith the Lord* (Isa. 66:23). And again: *Blessed are they that dwell in Thy House; they will be alway praising Thee* (Ps. 84:4; D. 83:5). For Him, Whom with their *heart* they *believe to righteousness,* and with their *mouth confess to salvation,* Him they shall see with their heart to light, and with their mouth shall praise to glory, when they behold how ineffably He is begotten of the Father: with Whom He liveth and reigneth, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God to all ages of ages. Amen.

IVO OF CHARTRES

(c. 1040–1116)

THIS esteemed canonist and scholarly bishop was far from being an academic drudge or equivovating ecclesiast. He had the firm convictions, as well as the usual inconsistencies, with which to precipitate himself into endless troubles; these embarrassments he regularly exchanged for new ones. Perhaps he did become sufficiently weary of such battles to combine, in his later years, a life of safe diocesan administration with a maturation of his advisory services as a canonical authority. But he continued at least a semblance of his old idealism and social concern. The portions here reproduced, if little characterized by that interest, show a surprisingly small amount of sheerly antiquarian preoccupation. MPL 162:567–68. The translation by Ne.Mpp. 99–101 is from the Paris ed. (1647), II, 286.

THE ADVENT (Sermon VII)

Since, in the observation of the present time, we celebrate both the Advents of Christ, we must distinguish what, at this season, we have to believe as past, what we have to expect as future; to the end that the expectation of future things may, by fear, restrain you from sin: and belief in that which is past, if you are not lukewarm in charity, may confirm you in that which is good. For there is none of you who doubts that our Lord has already come in the form of a servant to the end He might be judged: there is none of you who denies that He will come in the same form to the end He may judge. In the first Advent He was hidden, in the second He will be manifested. In the first Advent it is written of Him: What Man is this, and who knoweth Him? And in the Gospel: *The light shined in darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not* (John 1:5), and much to the same effect. Of the second it is thus said in the Psalm: *Our God shall come and shall not keep silence* (Ps. 50:3; D. 49:3). In His first Advent He kept silence, not from teaching, but from judging. *When He was reviled, He reviled not again, when He suffered, He threatened not, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so He opened not His mouth* (I Pet. 2:23; Isa. 53:7). In the second, He will not be silent, when *He will render to each according to his works* (Rom. 2:6). For then He will say to them that shall be at His left hand, *Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire* (Matt. 25:41): but thus to those who shall be on His right hand: *Come ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world* (Matt. 25:34). The first Advent was in humility and meekness, the second will be with terror and majesty. In the first it is said of Him by the Prophet to the Church, *Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek and humble* (Matt. 21:5). Of the terror of the second it is said in the Psalm: *There shall go a fire before Him, and a mighty tempest shall be stirred up round about Him* (Ps. 50:3; D. 49:3), that this tempest may drive away the wicked afar from the vision of His glory, but over them the fire shall burn. Of this tempest it is written: *Let the wicked be taken away, that they may not see the glory of God.* But of the fire to which the wicked shall be given up, thus saith the Lord by Moses: *A fire is kindled in Mine anger which shall burn even to the lowest hell* (Deut. 32:22). He Himself says that He will come to judgment with majesty: *When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, before Him shall be gathered all nations* (Matt. 25:31, 32). In the first Advent He came to justify the wicked, in the second He will come to condemn the wicked. In the first He came to call back those that were wrested from Him, in the second He will come to glorify those that are converted to Him. In the first Advent Christ was betrayed for the wicked to a death which He deserved not, in the second He will give up the wicked to a death which they deserve. In the first Advent He came to form our hearts again to the image of God. But in the second, He will form again the body of our humility so as to be configured to the body of His glory. For as by the first earthly man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, so it was fit that by the Second Man from heaven, man should first be justified from sin, and after that, should by the same be restored to immortality. For in the same order in which he had perished, in that order he was to be restored. The first death was transgression of the commandments, from which the second springs, the corruption of the flesh by the departure of the soul. Thus, therefore, the first resurrection is justification; the second, the restoration of corrupt flesh to immortality. Because then each Advent was necessary for our restoration, Holy Church is accustomed to venerate each under the observation of one time, that she may read former benefits with thanksgiving, and may look forward with pious fear to the good things of the latter Advent. Therefore those things which are written concerning each Advent of the Lord, in the law, and the Prophets, and the Psalms, and the Gospel, are most especially recited in the Church by being read or sung in these four weeks, that we may be fortified by these four kinds of testimonies to giving of thanks, and may be prepared for the future with no idle solicitude.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

(c. 1090–1153)

THIS preacher to the centuries has the instructive contradictions and the astonishing consistencies of one who is at the same time a mystic, man of affairs, monastic administrator, papal advisor, crusade instigator, persecutor of heretics, and humble expositor of the Scriptures. The treatises, sermons, and letters of Bernard are, in a real sense, a living composite of the twelfth century. Homiletic materials chosen show such diverse qualities as the mystic allegorization of his memorable *Canticles*, his pastoral fire reminiscent of *On Consideration*, and his appreciation of the evocative Christ and Gospel, as well as the typically Bernardine theory of the grades of love. MPL 183:90–94; 867–72; 1153–55; 1184–87. Translation by Ber.Cl.Els. III, 353–61; IV, 109–15; 471–74; 511–15.

SERMON XIII FOR THE ADVENT SEASON (II. For the Eve of the Nativity)

O Judah and Jerusalem, fear not; to-morrow ye shall go forth, and the Lord will be with you. II Chron. 20:17

1. I am addressing those who are truly Jews, not in the letter, but in the spirit: the seed of Abraham, which is multiplied according to the promise that we read was made to him. For *not the children of the flesh, but the children of the promise are counted for the seed,* (Rom. 9:8). Similarly I do not speak here of that Jerusalem which killed the Prophets. How, in fact, could I be able to console her, over whom the Lord wept (Luke 19:41) and which has been given over to destruction? But I speak of that new Jerusalem, which descends from heaven. *Fear not, O Judah and Jerusalem* (II Chron. 20:17)! No, fear not at all, ye who are true confessors, who confess the Lord, not only with your mouth, but with your whole being: who are clad with that confession as with a robe, yes, your whole inward natures confess the Lord, whose very bones say: *Lord, who is like unto Thee* (Ps. 35:10; D. 34:10), not like those who *profess that they know God, but in works they deny Him* (Titus 1:16). You confess Him truly, my brethren, if all your works are His works and confess Him. Let them confess Him in two ways, let them be clad, as it were in a double robe of confession, that is, of your own sins, and of the praise of God. For then you shall be true Jews [= confessors of Jehovah, Rev. 2:9] if your whole lives confess that you are sinners, and deserving of the greatest punishments: and that God is supremely good, who foregoes the eternal penalties which you have deserved, for these slight and transitory pains. For whosoever does not ardently desire penitence, seems to say by his actions, that he has no need of it, and thus does not confess his fault: or that penitence is of no service to him, and thus does not confess the Divine goodness. Do you then be true Jews and a true Jerusalem, that you may fear nothing. For Jerusalem is the Vision of peace; the Vision of it, not the possession; on whose borders the Lord hath established peace: but not at the setting out, nor at the midway thither. If then you have not perfect peace, which indeed you are not able to have in this world, at least behold it, look forward to it, meditate upon it and desire it. Fix upon

it the eyes of your mind, let your intention direct itself towards peace, do all your actions with a view to attain that peace *which passeth all understanding* (Phil. 4:7) and in all you do propose to yourself no other end, than to be reconciled with God and have peace with Him.

2. It is to those who do this that I say: *Fear not.* Those I console; and not those who have not known the way of peace. For if to them it is said, *To-morrow ye shall go forth;* that is not to console, but to threaten. In truth, only those who behold peace, and know that if the earthly house of their habitation were dissolved, they shall have another of God's building; — it is only such that desire to be dissolved and depart: not such as are turned towards folly and delight in their chains. Of such as die in this disposition, it cannot be said that they go forth into light and liberty, but rather that they enter into darkness, into prison, into hell. But to you it is said: *Fear not, to-morrow ye shall go forth:* and there shall be no fear any longer in your borders. You have it is true, numerous enemies; *the flesh,* than which no enemy can be nearer to you: *the present evil world* which surrounds you on all sides: and lastly the princes of darkness, who are ambushed in the air to beset your road. Nevertheless fear not, to-morrow ye shall go forth; that is, in a short time: for to-morrow means in a short time. Thus also the holy Jacob said: *In time to come my righteousness shall answer for me* (Gen. 30:33). For there are three epochs, and of these we read: *After two days He will revive us, and the third day He will raise us up* (Hos. 6:2; D. 6:3). One is under Adam, another in Christ, the third with Christ. Wherefore also it is there added: *We shall know, and shall follow to come to the knowledge of the Lord* (Hos. 6:3), and as it is said here, *To-morrow ye shall go forth and the Lord will be with you* (II Chron. 20:17). For these words are addressed to those, who have divided their days, for whom the days in which they were born have perished: that is, the day of Adam, the day of sin, on which Jeremiah called down a malediction, saying: *Cursed be the day on which I was born* (Jer. 20:14). All of us were in fact, born in that day: would that in all of us too it might perish: that day of darkness and gloominess, of storm and tempest, which Adam has brought about for us, which is due to that enemy which said: *Your eyes shall be opened* (Gen. 3:5).

3. But behold the day of a new redemption for us has dawned, of

the ancient plan of renewal, of an eternal felicity. *This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it* (Ps. 118:24; D. 117:24), for *to-morrow we shall go forth.* And from whence? from our sojourn in this state of existence, from the prison-house of this body, from the fetters of necessity, of restless inquiringness, of vanity, of pleasures which entangle, in spite of ourselves, the feet of our desire. What is there really in common between our spirit and earthly things? Why does it not desire, and seek, and appreciate spiritual things? O my soul, since thou art from above, what hast thou to do with these lower objects? *Seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the Right Hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things upon the earth* (Col. 3:1, 2). But *the corruptible body presseth down the soul and the earthy tabernacle weigheth down the mind, that museth upon many things* (Wisd. 9:15). Many unhappy necessities of the body hold us back. The wings of the soul are clogged with carnal desire and delight, so that they cannot soar; and if even the mind is raised above the earth, it speedily falls back again. Yet fear not, *to-morrow ye shall come forth* from this abyss of misery, of foul slime; for the Lord, in order that He might draw you forth thence, has Himself plunged into it: and ye shall come forth from a state of mortality and from every corruption of sin. Spend that day then in Christ, that ye may walk as He walked: for *he that says that he abideth in Him, ought himself also so to walk, even as He walked* (I John 2:6). *Fear not, then, for to-morrow ye shall go forth* and so ye shall be ever with the Lord. Perhaps those striking words *and the Lord shall be with you,* are to be understood thus; that while we are in the body, we are able to be with the Lord, that is, in unity of will with Him; but not He with us, in the sense that He should be at one with our will. For we would wish to be freed; we earnestly desire to be released and go forth, but hitherto for a certain cause, He delays to grant our wish. But to-morrow, we shall go forth, and the Lord shall be with us, so that whatever we wish He will wish with us, and His will and ours will be in complete accord.

4. Therefore Judah and Jerusalem, fear not, if you are not yet able to obtain the perfection which you desire: but let the humility of confession of your imperfection supply what is wanting in your daily life; since that imperfection is not hidden from the eyes of

God. If He has commanded that His precepts should be diligently kept (Ps. 119:4; D. 118:4) it is in order that, seeing our constant imperfection and our inability to fulfil the duty which we ought to do, we may fly to His mercy, and say: *Thy mercy is better than life* (Ps. 63:3; D. 62:4) and that, not being able to appear clad in innocence or righteousness, we may be at least covered with the robe of confession. *For confession and beauty are in the sight of the Lord* (Ps. 96:6; 95:6. Vulg.) if only (as we have said) it proceeds not from our lips only, but from our whole nature; if all our bones say: *Lord, who is like unto Thee,* and that in the pure prospect of, and desire of reconciliation with God. For to such as feel thus is the saying: *Fear not, O Judah and Jerusalem, to-morrow ye shall go forth;* that is to say, speedily your soul shall go forth from the body; all its affections, all its desires, which now like so many bonds, hold it still fast to the things of the world, shall be dissolved; it shall go forth from this clogging hindrance; *and the Lord shall be with thee.* Perhaps the time may seem to you very long, if you have regard only to yourself, and not to those things which are in relation with you. For is not the whole world in such relation? The creation was made subject to vanity: and on the Fall of man, whom the Lord had set over His house as its ruler, and the prince of His whole possession, the whole heritage was infected with him. Thence are extremities of heat and cold in the atmosphere, the soil being cursed in the labours of Adam, and the subjection of all things to vanity.

5. Nor indeed, will the heritage be re-established, until the heirs of it return to their first state. Wherefore, according to the testimony of the Apostle, *it groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now* (Rom. 8:22). It is not to the eyes of this world alone, but to those of Angels and of men [departed] that we are made a spectacle. *The righteous,* saith the Psalmist, *wait for me, until Thou shalt restore me* (Ps. 142:7; 141:8. Vulg.). And thus the martyrs, when they earnestly besought the day of judgment, not as being desirous of vengeance, but because they longed for the perfection of blessedness, which they shall then obtain, received from God this response: *Endure yet for a little while, until the number of your brethren be made up* (Rev. 6:11). Each of them indeed received a white robe; but they will not be vested in a second, until we too shall be vested with them. We hold as pledges and hostages their very bodies, without which their

glory cannot be consummated, nor will they receive those until the time when we shall receive ours with them. Wherefore the Apostle says of the Patriarchs and Prophets: *God reserving some better thing for us, that without us they might not be perfected* (Heb. 11:40). O if we could comprehend with what earnest and eager desire they expect and await our coming! how anxiously they enquire about, and how willingly listen to, any good actions that we do!

6. Yet why do I speak of these, who have learned compassion by the sufferings they have themselves endured, when our coming is desired by the holy Angels themselves? Is it not from such poor worms of the earth, and from such dust that the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem are to be raised again! Have you any idea of the ardour with which the citizens of that heavenly country desire the rebuilding of the ruins of their city? With what solicitude do they await the coming of the living stones, who are to be built in together with them? How they pass to and fro between us and God, bearing to Him most faithfully our groans and complaints, and bringing back to us His grace with admirable zeal! Unquestionably they will not disdain to have us for companions, whose helpers they have already become. For *are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister unto those who shall be heirs of salvation* (Heb. 1:14). Let us hasten then, beloved, I entreat you, let us hasten, since the whole multitude of the heavenly host awaits us. We cause the Angels to rejoice, when we have turned to penitence; let us come forwards now and hasten to fill them with joy on our behalf. Woe to you, whoever you are, who art meditating a return to the mire, and the vomit. Do you suppose that you will thus render favourable to you at the day of judgment, those whom you wish to deprive of a joy so great, and so much hoped for? They have been glad when we came to penitence, as over those whom they saw turning back from the very gates of hell. What will now be their affliction, if they see returning from the gates of paradise and taking the backward road, those who had already one foot within its threshold? For if our bodies are still below, yet our hearts are already in heaven.

7. Hasten, then, my brethren, hasten; for not the Angels alone, but the Creator of the Angels awaits you. The marriage feast is prepared, but the house is not yet full of guests: those who shall fill the places at the feast are still being waited for. The Father awaits you

and desires your coming; not only because of the great love wherewith He loved you (wherefore also the only Begotten Son, who is in the Bosom of the Father, Himself declared *The Father loveth you* (John 16:27), but because of His Own Self, as He speaks by the Prophet: *Because of my own Self I will do this, not because of you* (Ezek. 36:22. Vulg.).

Who can doubt that the promise shall be fulfilled which He made to the Son, saying, *Ask of Me, and I will give Thee the nations for Thy inheritance* (Ps. 2:8). And in another place: *Sit Thou on My Right Hand; until I shall make Thine enemies Thy footstool* (Ps. 110:1; D. 109:1). Now all His enemies would not be subdued, as long as they shall continue to attack us who are His members. Nor will this promise be fulfilled, until the last enemy shall be destroyed, which is death. For who knows not, how greatly the Son longed for the fruit of His Incarnation, and of the whole Life which He lived in the flesh; in short, the fruit of His Cross and Passion, the price of His Precious Blood? Will he not hereafter give over to God the Father the Kingdom which He has acquired? Will He not bring back to communion with Him, His creatures, for whose sake the Father sent Him into the world? The Holy Spirit also awaits us. For He is that Charity and loving kindness, in which we have been predestinated from all eternity: nor is it doubtful, that He wills His predestination to be fulfilled.

8. Since then the wedding feast is prepared, and all the hosts of the heavenly court are waiting for and desiring our coming: let us, my brethren, run our Christian course not as uncertainty, let us run with earnest desire, and striving after virtue. To set out, is to make progress. Let each of us say: *Look upon me, and have mercy upon me, as Thou usest to do unto those who love Thy Name* (Ps. 119:132; D. 118:132). Have mercy upon me, not as I have deserved, but as They have decreed. Let us say also: *Let Thy will be, as it is done in heaven;* or simply *Thy will be done* (Matt. 6:10). For we know that it is written: *If God be for us, who can be against us?* and again: *Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect?* (Rom. 8:31, 33). *Is it not lawful for Me,* He says, *to do what I will with Mine own?* (Matt. 20:15). Let these words be our consolation, my dear brethren, until we go forth from this world, and may the Lord be with us to the end. May He, in His great mercy, bring us to that

blessed departure and to that glorious *to-morrow;* may He, in that *to-morrow* which is near each of us, deign to visit us and to be near to help us; so that those who find themselves perhaps entangled and held back by some temptation, by his mercy who comes to preach deliverance to the captives, may be able in that *to-morrow* to go forth free; let us, in the joy of salvation, accept the crown of our newborn King; by His help, Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth, God, for ever and ever. AMEN.

[28]

OF THE THREE WAYS IN WHICH WE LOVE GOD (Sermon XX on the Song of Songs)

Let this sermon take for a beginning the words of a master in the spiritual life: *If anyone love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema* (I Cor. 16:22). Without doubt He is altogether to be loved by whom I have my very existence, my life, and my reason; and I cannot be ungrateful without being unworthy of all these. He is plainly worthy of death who refuses to live for Thee, O Lord Jesus; and he is, in fact, dead, as he who does not devote his reason to Thy service is unreasonable, and he who cares to be anything except for Thee is good for nothing, and is nothing. Indeed, what is man, except that Thou hast taken knowledge of him (Ps. 144:3; D. 143:3)? It is for Thine own self, O my God, that Thou hast created all things; and he who desires to exist for himself, and not for Thee, begins to be as nothing among all things that are. What is it that the wise man says: *Fear God, and keep His commandments: for this is the whole [duty of] man* (Eccles. 12:13). If, then, this is the whole man, without this man is nothing. Incline towards Thyself, O my God, what Thou hast deigned to enable me to be, humble as it is; take wholly to Thyself, I entreat, the brief remainder of the years which pertain to my poor life; and for all the years which I have lost, because I have occupied them in losing myself, despise not, I entreat, an humble and contrite heart. My days have declined as a shadow, they have perished without fruit. It is impossible for me to recall them; make me, in Thy goodness, at least to meditate upon them before Thee in the bitterness of my soul. Thou seest that wisdom is the whole desire and purpose of my heart: if there were any in me it is in Thy service I would employ it. But, O God, Thou knowest my simpleness; unless it be perhaps a beginning of wisdom to recognise my ignorance; and, indeed, this is by Thy gift. Augment it in me, I pray; I shall not be ungrateful for the least of Thy gifts, but shall strive to supply that which is lacking in me. It is, then, for these Thy benefits that I love Thee with all my feeble powers.

2. But there is a fact which moves, and excites, and fires me much more than this. Above all things, it is the cup which Thou didst drink, O Jesu, merciful and kind, the great task of our redemption undertaken by Thee, which is a stronger motive than any other for love to Thee. It is this which easily draws to itself all the love I have to give, which attracts my affection more sweetly, which requires it more justly, which retains it by closer ties and a more vehement force. To this end the Saviour endured many and great things, nor in the making of the whole world did its Creator take upon Himself a task so laborious. For in that earlier work *He spake, and it was done: He commanded, and it stood fast* (Ps. 33:9; D. 32:9). But in the later one He had to bear with men who contradicted His words, met His actions with ill-natured criticism, insulted His sufferings and even revived His Death. Behold, then, how He loved us! Add to this that He loved us thus of His free gift, not to make return for any love which we had for Him. *For who hath first given to Him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again* (Rom. 11:35)? And St. John Evangelist says expressly: *Not that we loved God, but that He* [previously] *loved us* (I John 4:10). Indeed, He loved us while as yet we did not exist; He did even more, for He loved us when we were opposed to, and were resisting, Him, as St. Paul testifies: *When we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son* (Rom. 5:10). In other words, if He had not loved us when enemies, He would not now have us for friends; just as, if He had not loved those who did not as yet exist, they would not be existing now for Him to love.

3. In the next place, His love is tender, wise, and strong. I say that it is tender, since He has taken upon Him our flesh; wise, since He has held Himself free of all sin; and strong, since it reached to

the point of enduring death. For those whom He visited in the flesh yet He loved not in the flesh, but in the foreseeing wisdom of the Spirit. For the Lord Christ is a Spirit who hath made Himself visible to us (Lam. 4:20), being moved towards us with a zeal of God, not of man, and with a love wiser assuredly than the first Adam felt for his Eve. Therefore those whom He sought out in the flesh He loved in the spirit, and redeemed in His power and courage. It is a thing full of ineffable sweetness to behold the Creator of man as a Man. But while by His wisdom He separated [human] nature from sin, by His power He banished death from [that] nature. In taking flesh He condescended to me; in separating it from all stain of sin He consulted His own dignity; in submitting to death He made satisfaction to His Father, and thus showed Himself at once the kindest of Friends, a prudent Counsellor, and a powerful Helper. In Him with full confidence I trust, who was willing to save me, who knew the means, who had the power to carry them out. The soul whom He sought out, whom He also called by His grace, will He cast out when it comes to Him? But I do not fear that any violence or fraud will have the power to pluck me out of His Hand; for in vanquishing death He vanquished all enemies, and in deluding the old Serpent, the seducer of the world, by an artifice more holy than that he had employed, He was at once wiser than the one and more powerful than the other. He took upon Him human flesh in truth, but only the likeness of sin; in the former giving sweet consolation to weak and ailing man, and in the latter prudently concealing from the devil the snare by which he was deceived. Furthermore, that He might reconcile us with His Father, He bravely underwent death and overcame it, pouring forth His Blood as the price of our Redemption. If, then, that Sovereign Majesty had not tenderly loved me, He would not have sought for me in my prison. But to this affection He joined wisdom to circumvent our tyrant, and patience to placate the just wrath of God His Father. These are the ways of loving which I promised to give you, but I have set them before you first as shown forth in Christ, that you might hold them in greater esteem.

4. Learn, O Christian, from the example of Christ the manner in which you ought to love Christ. Learn to love Him tenderly, to love Him wisely, to love Him with a mighty love. Tenderly, that you be not enticed away from Him; wisely, that you be not deceived and so

drawn away; and strongly, that you be not separated from Him by any force. Delight yourself in Christ, who is Wisdom, beyond all else, in order that worldly glory or fleshly pleasures may not withdraw you from Him; and let Christ, who is the Truth, enlighten you, so that you may not be led away by the spirit of falsehood and error. That you may not be overcome by adversities, let Christ, who is the Power of God, strengthen you. Let charity render your zeal ardent, wisdom rule and direct it; let constancy make it enduring. Let it be free from lukewarmness, not timid, nor wanting in discretion. Are not those the three things prescribed to thee in the Law, when God said: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength* (Deut. 6:5)? It seems to me, if no other sense occurs to you better to give to that threefold distinction, that the love of the heart answers to the earnestness of affection; the love of the soul to the purpose or judgment of the reason; and love with the strength to the constancy and vigour of the mind. Love, then, the Lord thy God with the entire and full affection of the heart; love Him with all the vigilance and all the foresight of the reason; love Him with the full strength and vigour of the soul, so that for His love you would not fear even to die; as it is written in a later verse of this Canticle: *Love is strong as death, jealousy as hard as hell* (Cant. 8:6. Vulg. & D.). Let the Lord Jesus be to your heart sweet and pleasant, so as to destroy the false attractiveness of the carnal life; let His sweetness overcome the other, as one nail drives out another. To your understanding and your reason let Him be a wise leader and a guiding light, not only to enable you to avoid the snares of heretical fraud, and to preserve the purity of your faith from their cunning devices, but also to make you cautious to avoid excessive or indiscreet vehemence in your conduct. Let your love be intrepid and constant, neither yielding to fear nor exhausted by sufferings. Finally, let us love tenderly, wisely, ardently, knowing that the love of the heart, which we call tender, is indeed sweet, but easily led astray — at least, if it be not accompanied by the love of the soul; while the latter, again, though it be rational, yet is apt to be weak, unless courage and ardour go with it to strengthen it.

5. And recognise in clear examples that what I say is true. When the disciples had heard with dismay their Master, shortly before His Ascension, speaking of His departure from them, they heard from

Him: *If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, because I said I go unto the Father* (John 14:28). What then? Did they not love Him for whose departure they were grieving? In a certain sense they loved Him, and yet they did not really love Him. That is, they loved Him tenderly, but not wisely; they loved in a carnal way, not reasonably; finally, they loved with all their heart, but not with all their soul. Their love was against the interests of their salvation; wherefore He said to them also, *It is expedient for you that I go away* (John 16:7), blaming their deficiency in wisdom, not in affection. When, again, He was speaking of His coming death, Peter, as you remember, who loved Him, and desired to retain Him, replied, endeavouring to hinder Him; to whom He made answer, so reproving him as to show that it was his want of prudence only that He blamed. For what is the force of the words following, *Thou savourest not the things which be of God* (Mark 8:33), but, Thou lovest not wisely, as following the impulse of human affection against the design of God? And He even called him Satan, inasmuch as in seeking to hinder the Saviour from dying he was an adversary of salvation, though unknowingly. And, therefore, having been thus corrected, he no longer opposed himself to the Saviour's death when the sad prophecy of it was again made by Him, but declared that he would die with Him. But that promise He did not fulfil, because he had not yet attained to the third degree of love, which consists in loving God with all our strength. He had learned to love [God] with all his soul, but he was still weak; he knew well what he ought to do, but was without the help which would enable him to perform it; he was not ignorant of the mystery [of salvation] but he shrank from martyrdom. That love was plainly not strong as death, which yielded to [the fear of] death; but afterwards it became so, when being, according to the promise of Jesus Christ, endued with power from on high, he began to love with courage so great that, having been forbidden in the council of the Jews to preach the adorable Name of Jesus, he replied firmly to those who forbade him, *We ought to obey God rather than men* (Acts 5:29). Then, indeed, he loved God at length with all his power, since he did not spare his own life for that love. For *greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends* (John 15:13); and he laid down his life at that time, though he did not actually give it up. To be not drawn away by flattery, nor seduced by artifices, nor violently removed from it by injuries and outrages, that is to love God with all the mind, with all the soul, and with all the strength.

6. And notice, that that love of the heart is in a manner carnal, with which the heart of man is affected towards Christ according to the flesh, and towards the actions which He did or commanded while in the flesh. A person who is filled with that love is easily touched with any discourse which dwells on that subject. There is nothing he listens to more willingly, reads more attentively, recalls oftener to memory, meditates upon with greater enjoyment. His sacrifices of prayer receive from it a new perfection, and resemble, as it were, victims as fat as they are beautiful. As often as he prays, the image of the GOD MAN arises before him, either in His Birth or His Infancy, either in His Teaching or His Death, His Resurrection, or His Ascension; and all these, or similar images, necessarily animate the soul to the love of holiness, drive away fleshly vices, put to flight temptations, and calm desires. I consider that a principal cause why God, who is invisible, willed to render Himself visible in the Flesh, and to dwell as a Man among men, was to draw, in the first place, to the salutary love of His sacred Flesh all the affections of carnal men who were unable to love otherwise than in a carnal manner, and so by degrees to draw them to a pure and spiritual affection. Were not those, for instance, who said to Jesus, *Behold, we have left all and followed Thee* (Matt. 19:27), still in this [first] degree of love? They had left all things for the sole love of the bodily Presence of Jesus, so that they were not able even to listen with equanimity to the announcement of His salutary Passion and Death as near at hand, and even afterwards it touched them with a profound sadness to look up to the glory of His Ascension. For this reason it was that He said to them: *Because I have said these things unto you, sorrow hath filled your heart* (John 16:6). Thus in the meantime He had drawn them away, and kept them, from every carnal affection by the grace of His personal Presence in the Flesh.

7. But He afterwards pointed out to them a higher degree of love, when He said: *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing* (John 6:63; D. 6:64). I think that he who said, *Though we have known Christ after the Flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more* (II Cor. 5:16), and perhaps the Prophet also, notwithstanding [that he lived before Christ], when he said, *The Spirit before our*

face was Christ the Lord, stood upon this higher ground; for that which he adds, *Under Thy shadow shall we live among the Gentiles* (Lam. 4:20), it seems that he speaks in the name of those who are beginning to rest at least in the shadow, since they do not feel themselves to be capable of sustaining the heat of the sun; and being nourished with the sweetness of the flesh, are not as yet capable of perceiving the things which are of the Spirit of God. By the shadow of Christ I suppose to be meant His Flesh, with which Mary was overshadowed (Luke 1:35), so that it was to her as a veil to temper the heat and light of the Spirit. Let him be consoled then, with the devotion of the flesh who has not as yet the life-giving Spirit, or, at least, who has Him not in the manner of those who say: *The Spirit before our face was Christ the Lord,* and, *Though we have known Christ after the Flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more* (II Cor. 5:16). For it is assuredly not without the Spirit that Christ is loved, even in the Flesh, though He be not loved in His fulness [thus]. And of this devotion the measure is this, that the sweetness of it occupies the whole heart; draws it entirely to itself from all love of the flesh or of carnal things, and frees it from their temptations; this it is to love with all the heart. Otherwise, if I prefer to the Flesh of my Lord any ties of relationship, or any pleasure that I may receive — I mean in such a way as to be able to perform fewer of those good works which He has taught me by word and by example while He abode in the flesh — does it not plainly appear that I do not love Him with all my heart, since it is divided, and I seem to have given a part to the love of Him, and a part to the love of myself? For He Himself says: *He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than Me is not worthy of Me* (Matt. 10:37). Therefore, to express it briefly, to love Jesus with the whole heart is to prefer the love of His most sacred Flesh to all things which engage our affections or our vanity, either in our own self, or that of another; in which I equally comprehend the glory of the world also, because it is essentially carnal; and those who delight in it are, without doubt, carnally minded.

8. But yet such devotion towards the Flesh of Christ is a gift of the Holy Spirit, and a great gift; yet I must call such love carnal, at least in comparison with that other affection, which has regard, not so much to the Word as Flesh, as to the Word as Wisdom, as

Righteousness, as Truth, as Holiness, Goodness, Virtue, and all other Perfections of whatever kind. For Christ is all these, inasmuch as by God *He is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption* (I Cor. 1:30). Does it appear to you that two persons have equal and similar love towards Christ, of whom the one sympathizes indeed piously with His sufferings, is moved to a lively sorrow by them, and easily softened by the memory of all that He endured; who feeds upon the sweetness of that devotion, and is strengthened thereby to all salutary, honourable, and pious actions; while the other, being always fired by a zeal for righteousness, having everywhere an ardent passion for truth, and earnestly desiring wisdom, prefers above all things sanctity of life, and a perfectly disciplined character; who is ashamed of ostentation, abhors detraction, knows not what it is to be envious, detests pride, and not only avoids, but dislikes and despises every kind of worldly glory; who vehemently hates and perseveres in destroying in himself every impurity of the heart and of the flesh; and lastly, who rejects, as if it were naturally, all that is evil, and embraces all that is good? If you compare these two types of affection, does it not appear to you that the second is plainly the superior? and that in comparison with it the former is in a manner carnal?

9. Yet that love, by which a carnal life is shut out, and the world is contemned and overcome, is good, though it be carnal. In that type of affection it becomes *rational* as it makes progress, and it is perfected when it becomes *spiritual.* It is called *rational* when in all the sentiments cherished regarding Christ the proportion of the faith (*ratio fidei*) is so carefully observed that no deviation is made from the pure doctrine of the Church by any apparent similarity to truth, nor by any snare of heretical or diabolical deception. As also in our personal conduct this caution must be observed, that the bounds of discretion be not exceeded through the influence of superstition, or of levity, or of the zeal of an unregulated disposition. And this it is to love God with all the soul, as I have already said. If to this be added force so great, and an assistance so powerful, as that of the Holy Spirit, so that neither troubles nor sufferings, however violent, nor even the fear of death, can ever cause the desertion of righteousness, then God is loved with all the strength, and that is *spiritual* love. And I think this name peculiarly suitable to such love, because of the ful-

ness of the Spirit which so particularly distinguishes it. But I think that these observations may suffice with regard to that saying of the Bride: *Therefore have the virgins loved Thee beyond measure* (cf. Cant. 1:3). May our Lord Jesus Christ, who is our Guardian, deign to open to us the treasures of His mercy, that we may be able to expound the words which follow. Who liveth and reigneth with the Father, in the Unity of the Holy Spirit, one God for ever and ever. AMEN.

[29]

OF THE GLORY OF THE BRIDEGROOM, IN WHICH HE SITS AT THE RIGHT HAND OF HIS FATHER, AND IS COEQUAL WITH HIM. HOW CAREFUL, WATCHFUL, AND DISCREET GOOD PASTORS OUGHT TO BE IN FEEDING THE SOULS GIVEN INTO THEIR CHARGE (Sermon LXXVI on the Song of Songs)

In the streets and in the broad ways I will seek Him whom my soul loveth. — Cant. 3:2

* * *

7. But someone says: ‘ How shall she believe, without someone to instruct, since faith cometh by hearing, and hearing through the word of exhortation (Rom. 10:14, 17)? ’ For this God will provide. And see how they are already at hand who present themselves to instruct that new Bride, that soul who is to be united to a heavenly Bridegroom, in the truths that she needs to know; to deliver to her the faith, to teach her the form of piety and of true religion. For listen to what she goes on to say: *The watchmen that go about the city found me* (Cant. 3:3). Who are these watchmen? They are those whom the Saviour pronounces blessed if He, when He shall come, shall find them watching (Luke 12:37). How good are the sentinels who watch while we sleep, as if to give an account of our souls! How good the guardians who are wakeful in spirit, and pass the night in prayer;

who seek out wisely the devices of the enemies, forestall the designs of the evil-disposed, lay bare their snares, escape their entanglements, shatter their nets, frustrate their plots! These are lovers of the brethren and of the people of Christ, who pray much for the people and for all the Holy City. These are they who, being careful and anxious for the sheep entrusted to them by the Lord, bear them on their heart at their waking, when the day breaks, to the Lord who made them, and offer intercession for them in the presence of the Most High. And though they thus watch and thus intercede, they do it, as knowing their own insufficiency to keep the city safe, and being conscious that *unless the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain* (Ps. 127:1; D. 126:1).

8. In fact, when the Lord thus instructs us, *Watch ye and pray, lest ye enter into temptation* (Mark 14:38), it is plain that without this twofold exercise [of vigilance and prayer] by the faithful, and of sympathetic care on the part of the watchers, the city cannot be kept in safety, nor the Bride, nor the sheep. Do you inquire what is the difference between these? They are but one and the same; a city because it is an assembly of the faithful, a Bride because beloved, and a flock of sheep because of the kindness and care shown to it. Why is this Bride said to be a city? *I saw* (it is said) *the Holy City, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a Bride adorned for her husband* (Rev. 21:2). It will plainly appear to you that the Bride is similarly called a *flock,* if you remember how earnestly the Saviour warned that first pastor (I mean St. Peter) to tend it with love when the sheep of it were for the first time committed to his charge. This that wise bestower of the trust (*creditor*) would not have done with such great care if He had not felt, from the witness of His own inmost heart, that this was the Bride of which He was the Bridegroom. Take good heed of this, O friends of the Bridegroom, if you are in truth His friends. But I have said too little in calling you simply *friends.* For it behoves those upon whom is bestowed the privilege of such familiar intimacy to be the very closest and dearest of friends to Him. It was not without a significant purpose that, when confiding the care of His sheep to St. Peter, He repeated so frequently, *Lovest thou Me?* (John 21:15–17). And I think that the significance of it was as if Jesus had said: 'If your conscience does not bear you witness that you love Me, that you love

Me perfectly and entirely, that is to say, more than your own interests, more than your relatives, more even than your own self, so that the number of this threefold repetition of Mine may be fulfilled, then by no means do thou take upon thee this charge, nor in any wise presume to concern thyself with My sheep, for whom My blood was poured forth.' An address which is indeed terrible, and capable of shaking the hearts of tyrants, however hardened.

9. Wherefore be ye watchful, whosoever of you have been chosen and called to the work of this ministry; take watchful heed, I say, to yourselves, and to the precious deposit which has been entrusted to you. It is a *city;* watch, then, to maintain it in safety and concord. It is a *Bride;* study to present her to the Lord decked with the precious jewels of abundant virtues. It is a *flock;* study diligently to give it needful pasture. And perhaps we may not unfitly explain by these three elements of pastoral duty the threefold question which the Lord addressed to St. Peter. Now, that the watch and ward over the city may be effective, it must be of three kinds: against the violence of tyrants, against the deception from heretics, and against the temptations of evil spirits. Again, the ornaments of the Bride ought to be of three kinds: of good works, of a saintly character, of high and noble principles. And the needful nourishment of the sheep is ordinarily indeed in the good pastures of the Holy Scriptures as being the heritage of the Lord; but there is a distinction in these. For there are commandments which are imposed upon hard and carnal hearts, as a discipline and for the law of life; and there are miscellaneous masses of dispensations, which are appointed on account of pity to those that are weak and of little courage; and there are counsels strong and solid, which are proposed from the inmost recesses of wisdom to those who have health and strength, and senses trained to discern good from evil. For to those who are as children, or, so to speak, as little lambs, is given the milk of exhortation and encouragement, not strong meat. To this end, good and careful pastors do not cease to feed their flock to fatness with salutary and encouraging examples, and preferably with their own rather than with those of others. For if they offer only those of other people, and not their own, this is to their shame, and, also, their flock do not profit. For if, to give an instance, I, who appear to bear the charge of pastor among you, should set before you the meekness of Moses, the pa-

tience of Job, the mercy of Samuel, the holiness of David, and other similar examples of various virtues, and be myself impatient and severe, unmerciful, and in no way holy, my discourse would, I fear, be void of all force and unction, nor would you care to listen to it. But this I leave to the Divine goodness, that it may supply what is wanting and correct what is amiss in my conduct towards you. The good pastor will also take care to have in himself that *salt* of which the Gospel speaks (Mark 9:49), knowing that a discourse seasoned with salt is agreeable and also salutary. This is what I have for the present to say regarding the safe keeping of the city, the adorning of the Bride, and the nourishment of the flock.

10. Yet I wish to set forth the same truths somewhat more in detail, and with respect to those who, while they thirst for honours with excessive desire, and engage rashly to bear the burden of duties to which they are unequal, expose themselves thereby to very great peril, so that they may know what they are entering upon, according to the question that is asked in the Scripture: *Friend, wherefore art thou come?* (Matt. 26:50). If I do not mistake, for the safe keeping of the city only, it is absolutely necessary that a man should be strong, faithful, and spiritually minded. He must be strong to repulse the assaults of its enemies, spiritually minded that he may discover their crafty devices, and faithful that he may not seek to advance his own interests. In the next place, for the elevation and training of souls (for this is what is signified and referred to in the adorning of the Bride), who does not at once perceive that a firm bond of discipline, as well as a sedulous diligence, is required? On that account everyone who is engaged in this ministry needs to burn with fervent zeal. It was with this that Apostle was fired who was so jealous for the glory of the Bride of the Lord, for he said: *I am jealous over you with godly jealousy, for I have espoused you to one husband that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ* (II Cor. 11:2). And, lastly, [a pastor must not be ignorant], for how can one who is so conduct the Lord's flocks to the sweet pastures of the Divine oracles? But if he be a learned man, indeed, but not a good man, then it is to be feared that he will not so much nourish his flock by the abundance of his doctrine, as he will starve them by the barrenness of his life. Without having knowledge, then, and at the same time a good and praiseworthy life, it is mere rashness for anyone to take

upon him the burden of this office. But see, I am obliged to come to an end, though I have not finished what I have to say upon this subject. We are called to another matter, to which it is an unworthy thing that this should give way. I am pressed on all sides, and I know not which I ought to suffer the more impatiently, to be dragged in one direction, and repressed on another, though to endure the two together is worse than either separately. O servitude! O necessity! not what I desire, but what I hate, that I do. Notice, however, where we leave off, so that as soon as it shall be free to us to return to the subject, we may take it up from this point; in the Name of Him who is the Bridegroom of the Church, JESUS CHRIST our Lord, who is above all, God blessed for ever. AMEN.

[30]

THAT THE SOUL, SEEKING GOD, IS ANTICIPATED BY HIM; AND IN WHAT CONSISTS THAT SEARCH FOR GOD IN WHICH IT IS THUS ANTICIPATED (Sermon LXXXIV on the Song of Songs)

By night on my bed I sought Him whom my soul loveth. — Cant. 3:1

It is a great good to seek God. I think that, among all the blessings of the soul, there is none greater than this. It is the first of the gifts of God; the last degree of the soul's progress. By no virtue is it preceded; to none does it give place. To what virtue is that added which is not preceded by any? And to which should that give way which is the consummation of all virtues? For what virtue can be ascribed to him who is not seeking God, or what limit prescribed to one who is seeking Him? *Seek His Face evermore* (Ps. 105:4; D. 104:4), says the Psalmist; nor do I think that when a soul has found Him, it will cease from seeking. God is sought, not by the movement of the feet, but by the desires of the heart; and when a soul has been so happy as to find Him, that sacred desire is not extinguished, but, on the contrary, is increased. Is the consummation of the joy the extinction of the desire? It is rather to it as oil poured upon a flame; for desire is, as it were, a flame. This is, indeed, the case. The joy will be fulfilled; but the fulfilment will not be the ending of the desire, nor therefore of the seeking. But think, if you can, of this earnest love of seeking God as being without any deprivation of Him, and of the desire for Him as without anxiety or trouble of mind. His Presence excludes the one, and the abundance of His graces prevents the other.

2. But now observe why I have made these introductory remarks. It is that every soul among you which is seeking God should know that it has been anticipated by Him, and has been sought by Him before it began to seek Him. For without this knowledge it might be that out of a great blessing might arise great harm, if, when it has been filled with the good gifts of the Lord, it treats those gifts as if they had not been received from Him, and so does not render to God the glory of them. It is, doubtless, in this way that some who appeared very great before men, because of the graces which had been conferred upon them, were counted as the least before God, inasmuch as they did not render back to Him the glory which was due on their account. But in saying this, I have used inadequate terms. To spare you, I have spoken of ' greatest ' and of ' least,' but I have not thus expressed my thought in all its force. I will make clearer the distinction which I have tried to mark. I ought to have said that he who is the best of men becomes in this way the worst. For it is a thing certain and without doubt that such a person becomes as blameable as he before was praiseworthy, if he ascribe to himself the praise of that which was excellent in him. For this is one of the worst of crimes. Someone will perhaps say, ' God forbid that I should be of that mind; I fully recognize that by the grace of God I am what I am; but suppose that a person should try to take for himself a little spark of glory for the grace that he has received, is he, therefore, a thief and a robber? ' Let one who speaks thus listen to the words: *Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant* (Luke 19:22). For what can be more wicked than the servant usurping to himself the glory which belongs to his Lord?

3. *By night on my bed I sought Him whom my soul loveth.* The soul seeks the Word, but it had been previously sought by the Word. For otherwise, when it had been once driven out or cast forth from the

presence of the Word, it would have returned no more to obtain the sight of the good things it had lost if it had not been sought by the Word. Our soul, if abandoned to itself, is a spirit which goes to and fro, but does not return. Listen to a fugitive and wandering soul, and learn what it complains of, and what it seeks: *I have gone astray like a lost sheep: seek Thy servant* (Ps. 119:176; D. 118:176). O man, dost thou desire to return? But if that depends upon thy own will, why dost thou entreat help? Why dost thou ask for from another what thou hast in abundance in thy own self? It is plain that he does desire this, and is not able to perform it; he is a spirit which goes to and fro, and returns not; though he who has not even the wish to return is farther removed still. Yet I would not say that the soul which longs to return, and desires to be sought, is wholly exposed and abandoned. For from whence comes this willingness which is in it? It comes, if I do not mistake, from its having been already sought and visited by the Word; nor is that visitation fruitless, since it has so worked in the soul as to produce that good will, without which a return would not be possible. But it does not suffice to be sought once only, so great is the languor of the soul, and so great the difficulty of the return. What if the will of a soul is to return? The will lies inoperative, if it be not supported by the power to do so. For, *to will is present with me,* says the Apostle, *but how to perform that which is good I find not* (Rom. 7:18). What is it, then, that the Psalmist seeks in the passage which I have quoted? He plainly seeks nothing else than to be sought: which he would not seek if he had not been sought; and yet again, which he would not seek if he had been sought sufficiently. This latter grace, indeed, is what he entreats: *Seek Thy servant* (Ps. 119:176; D. 118:176); that is, that what it has been granted to him to desire, it may be granted to him also perfectly to attain, according to the good pleasure of God.

4. Yet it does not seem to me that the present passage is capable of being applied to a soul such as this, which has not attained the second grace, and, though desiring to approach Him whom she loves, has not the ability to do so. For how can the words which follow be made to apply to such a soul; namely, that she rises and goes about the city in the streets, and in the broad ways seeks her Beloved (Cant. 3:2), seeing that she herself needs to be sought? Let her do this as she is able; only let her remember that, as she was first beloved, so

she was first sought; and to that she owes it that she herself loves and is engaged in seeking. Let us, too, pray, beloved, that those mercies may speedily anticipate us, for we are brought into extreme need of them. But I do not say this of you all; for I know that very many of you are walking in the love wherewith Christ hath loved us, and are seeking Him in simplicity of heart. But there are some (I say it with sorrow) who have not yet given us any mark of this saving and preventing grace being in them, and therefore no sign of their salvation; they are men who love their own selves, not the Lord, and seek their own interests, not those of Jesus Christ.

5. *I have sought,* says the Bride, *Him whom my soul loveth.* It is to this that the goodness of Him who has anticipated you in seeking you and loving you first, it is to this that His goodness is calling and arousing you. You would not seek Him at all, O soul, nor love Him at all, if you had not been first sought and first loved. You have been anticipated by a twofold benediction, that of love and of seeking. The love is the cause of the seeking; the seeking is the fruit and the clear proof of the love. You have been loved, so that you might not fear that you were sought for to be punished; you were sought for, that you might not complain that you were loved to no purpose. Each of these two great and unmistakable favours has given you courage, has removed shyness and timidity, has touched your feelings, and disposed you to return. Hence arises that zeal and ardour in seeking Him whom thy soul loveth; because, just as you were not able to seek Him, until you had first been sought, so now that you have been sought, you are not able to do otherwise than seek Him.

6. Again, never forget whence it is that you have come hither. And that I may apply the better to myself what has been said (which is the safer course), is it not thou, O my soul, who, having left thy first Bridegroom, by whose side all had been well with thee, hast broken the faith first pledged to Him, and gone after others? And now that thou hast sinned with them to the full, and art perhaps fallen into contempt with them, dost thou impudently and with effrontery desire to return to Him, to whom thou hast behaved with so much pride and insolence? What? when thou art fit only to hide thyself, dost thou seek the light, and though more deserving of correction than favour, dare to run unto the Bridegroom? Wonderful it will be if you do not find a Judge to condemn you instead of a husband to

receive you. Happy is he who shall hear his soul replying to these reproaches: ‘I do not fear because I love, and also I am loved; nor could I have loved unless He had first loved me. Let those fear who have no love; but for the soul that loves there is nothing to be feared. How can those who have no love do otherwise than be under constant apprehension of injury? But because I love, I no more doubt that I am loved than I doubt of my own love; nor can I possibly fear His countenance, whose affection for me I have assuredly felt. In what have I felt it, do you inquire? In this: that not only has He sought me, unhappy as I am, but has caused me to seek Him, and to feel sure of succeeding in my search. Why should I not respond to Him in His search, to whom in His affection I respond? Why should He be angry at my seeking Him, who, when I showed contempt for Him, forgave it? He sought me when I contemned Him, why should He contemn me when I seek Him? Benign and gentle is the Spirit of the Word, and gentle is His greeting to me; He makes me aware of His kindness towards me, He whispers to me and convinces me of the earnest love of the Word for me, which cannot be hidden from Him. For He searcheth the deep things of God, and knows that the Divine thoughts are thoughts of peace and not purposes of vengeance. How can I be otherwise than encouraged to seek Him, who have had experience of His clemency, and am persuaded of His reconciliation with me?

7. My brethren, to think seriously of these truths is to be sought by the Word; to be persuaded of them is to be found by Him. But not all are capable of receiving that Word. What shall we do for the little children among us, I mean those who are still in the stage of beginners (*incipientes*), and yet are far from being without understanding (*insipientes*), since they possess already the beginning of wisdom, being subject one to the other in the fear of Christ? How, I say, shall we cause them to believe that the spiritual life of the Bride is marked by such experiences as these, since they know nothing as yet of such feelings themselves? But I send them to one, to whom they cannot refuse credence. Let them read in a book [of Scripture] that which they fail to discern in the heart of a fellow man, and therefore will not believe. For it is written in one of the Prophets: *If a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and become another man's, shall he return unto her again? shall not that*

land be greatly polluted? but thou hast played the harlot with many lovers, yet return again to Me, saith the Lord (Jer. 3:1). They are the words of the Lord, and it is not permitted to doubt or hesitate. Let them believe what they have not experienced, that by the merit of their faith they may one day attain the fruit of experience. I think that now it has been sufficiently explained what it is to be sought by the Word, and how this is necessary, not for the Word, but for the soul, so that the soul which has experienced this knows Him both more fully and more happily. It remains to be treated of in the next discourse how souls that thirst for Christ seek Him by whom they have been sought; or rather that we should learn that from her, who is brought before us in these verses, as seeking Him whom her soul loveth, Him who is the Bridegroom of the soul, JESUS CHRIST our Lord, who is above all, God blessed for ever. AMEN.

GUARRIC, ABBOT OF IGNIAC

(d. c. 1156)

GUARRIC, greatly overshadowed by better-known contemporaries, is placed here to show his unexpectedly sensitive and flexible Biblical responsiveness and to serve as a needed reminder that good preaching of a character equal or superior to that of more sensational sermonizers was not infrequently to be encountered from relatively obscure quarters. Little is known of him beyond his friendship for Bernard of Clairvaux and his abbatial preferment. MPL 185:127–30. The translation of Ne.Mpp. 147–51 is from Bib.Max. 29:210.

THE HUMILITY OF CHRIST, THE REMEDY OF MAN'S PRIDE

(Sermon I. On Palm Sunday)

Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus (Phil. 2:5). Hear this, thou wicked and fugitive servant! I mean thee, O man, who, when thou wast in a servile nature and condition, and under the necessity of serving, didst refuse obedience, and endeavour to snatch at liberty, and at an equality with thy Lord. Christ, when He was in the form of God, equal, not by robbery, but by nature, as being Co-omnipotent, Co-eternal, and Consubstantial, emptying Himself of His glory, not only *took the form of a servant, and was found in the likeness of man,* but accomplished the ministry of a servant, *humbling Himself,* and becoming *obedient to death, even the death of the Cross* (Phil. 2:7–8). But it may seem little that, Son and Co-equal though He were, He obeyed the Father as a Servant: for He obeyed His own servant as if He Himself were more than a slave. Man was made for this purpose, — that he might serve his Creator. And what more just than thou shouldst serve Him by Whom thou wast created — without Whom thou couldst not even exist? And what more blessed or more sublime than to serve Him, Whom to serve is to reign?

" I will not serve the Creator," says man. " Then I," saith the Creator, " will serve thee, O man. Do thou sit down at the banquet; I will minister to thee, and I will wash thy feet. Do thou rest; I will bear thy sicknesses — I will carry thine infirmities. . . . If thou art wearied or heavy laden, I will carry thee and thy burden, that I may be the first to fulfil My own law: *bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ* (Gal. 6:2). If thou art an hungered or athirst, and hast nothing at hand . . . behold, I myself am ready to be sacrificed, that thou mayest eat My Flesh and drink My Blood. And fear not that, from the death of thy servant, thou wilt suffer the loss of his service: after thou hast fed upon Me, I shall remain whole and alive, and I will serve thee as I did before. If thou art led into captivity, or sold, sell Me, and ransom thyself by My price, or rather, by Myself, as thy Price. . . . If I am bought by the avaricious Priests of the Jews, I am at least valued at thirty pieces of silver; by this My price a field may be bought to bury strangers in; by Me, as their Price, those that are buried shall have life. If thou art sick, and fearest to die, I will die for thee, that from My Blood thou mayest compose the medicines of life."

Well done, Thou good and faithful Servant (Matt. 25:21)! Thou hast truly served. Thou hast served in all faith and truth. Thou hast served in all patience and long-suffering. Not after a lukewarm sort, Who didst *rejoice as a giant* to run the course of obedience; not in a feigned manner, Who, after so many and so great labours didst expend Thy life over and above all; not murmuringly, Who when Thou wast scourged, though innocent, didst not even open Thy Mouth. For it is written — and it is just — *that servant who knew his Lord's will, and did it not, shall be beaten with many stripes* (Luke 12:47). But this Servant, I pray you, what did He not that was wanting? What ought He to have done, that He did not? They who were witnesses of His deeds, said, *He hath done all things well; He maketh both the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak* (Mark 7:37). He did all things worthy: and how, then, did He suffer all things that were unworthy? *He gave his back to the smiters* (Isa. 50:6), and suffered neither few nor light stripes: let the proof be, the rivers of blood which flow forth from so many parts of His Body. He was interrogated with contumely and torment, as a slave or a thief subjected to the torture, that they might bring forth a confession of His crime.

O the detestable pride of man, who scorns to serve! which could be humbled by no other example save the slavery — and such slavery — of his Lord! And would that even so it could be humbled; would that even now it could feel and express thankfulness to such humility and goodness! But, as it seems to me, I still hear the same Lord complaining, in Isaiah, of the ingratitude of the wicked servant, when He saith, *I have not caused thee to serve with an offering, nor wearied thee with incense; but thou hast made Me to serve with thy sins; thou has wearied Me with thine iniquities* (Isa. 43:23, 24). And what weariness! Even to exhaustion, hunger, and thirst; yes, and even to sweat, and that *a sweat of blood, running down upon the ground;* yes, and even to death, and that *the death of the Cross!* — not to set forth everything, — how He was struck with the palm of the hand; defiled with spitting; crowned with thorns; fastened with nails; pierced with the lance; given to drink of vinegar and gall.

This wine-press, saith He, *I have trodden alone; and of the people there was none with Me* (Isa. 63:3). *Ye, therefore, who stand* *all the day idle, behold and see if there be any labour like My labour* (cf. Matt. 20:6). Truly, Thou hast laboured, O my Lord, in serving me: it were only just and right that at least from henceforth Thou shouldest rest, and that Thy servant — were it only because it is his turn — should serve Thee. At how great a price, O my Lord, hast Thou redeemed to Thyself my useless service, Who standest not even in need of the ministries of the angels! By how sweet and kind an act of love hast Thou recovered to Thyself and subdued Thy contumacious servant, — conquering the evil by good; confounding the proud by humility; overwhelming the ungrateful by benefits!

So it is — so it is that Wisdom conquers Malice. So Thou hast heaped coals of fire upon the head of obstinate man, that by them he might be inflamed to penitence. Thou hast conquered, therefore, O Lord, Thou hast conquered the rebel! Lo! I yield myself to Thy fetters, and I put my neck under Thy yoke. Deign only that I may serve Thee; suffer that I labour for Thee. Receive me as Thy servant for ever, albeit a useless servant, unless now also Thy grace be with me and labour with me, always preventing and following. It prevents us, showing first examples of humility and patience: let it follow us and help us, that we may imitate what it has shown!

Happy we, my brethren, if concerning this we hear the counsel of the Apostle, *Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus.* That is, that none be lifted up above himself, but rather be humbled below himself. He that is greatest, let him serve others; if a man be injured, let him be the first to give satisfaction; let every one in common be obedient even unto death. By these steps, brethren, let us follow Christ in the form of a servant, and we shall attain to the beholding Him in the form of God: in which He liveth and reigneth, through all ages of ages. Amen.

PETER OF BLOIS

(d. c. 1204 [12])

MUCH of the fire and vigor of Peter's letters — some of them so unwavering a mirror of twelfth-century ecclesiastical life — has been infused into his sermons. It is characteristic of this man who warned newly elevated bishops against using their offices to endow their families that he should call people and priests, alike, to stern accounting. The first passage is an excerpt from a lengthy reconstruction of a free-ranging " Sermon to the People." The second is from Sermon LVI — to Priests. MPL 207:752–53, 727–28. Translation of Ne. Mpp. 201–02, 208–09 from Vol. IV of Giles' edition.

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CHRISTIAN FEAR THE STEPPING-STONE TO CHRISTIAN LOVE (Sermon LXV. To the People)

But to us worldly men, who are not only in the world, but of the world, — who are set in the midst of a perverse and crooked generation, crooked and perverse ourselves, — who are often intoxicated and sickened with the cup of Babylon, — to us, I say, I think that meditation, which impresses with the fear of the Judge, Who will judge the world by fire, is highly useful and profitable; that Judge by Whom the saints will judge the people, by Whom the miserable daughter of Babylon will have her own retribution returned upon her, — a wretched and eternal retribution. O blessed souls of the saints, who, while yet in the flesh, live above the flesh; while yet men, show forth the life of angels! O truly blessed, whose it is to gather the most sweet fruits of contemplation; whose it is to possess a harbour, as it were, of tranquillity in this *great and wide sea;* who are neither driven from their course by the rushing wind of fear, nor tossed by the tumult of the stormy ocean! O thrice and four times happy, before whose eyes is the love of their Redeemer, the love of their Father, and of their Country, and that continually; and who know the fear of the Judge and of hell, only at a distance! They, indeed, *forgetting the things behind, press forward to the things that are before* (Phil. 3:13): they not only despise, but are ignorant of fear; and that dread which at first introduced love, being cast out, they, so to speak, cannot help loving ever since the time that they were first inflamed by such affection. It is for them to be anointed with the oil of the good Samaritan; it is for us to use the wine of compunction: it is for them to *draw water with joy out of the wells of the Saviour* (Isa. 12:3), *to be satisfied with the pleasures of His house, to be given to drink of the water of the wisdom of salvation* (Ps. 36:8; D. 35:9); it is ours to *mingle our drink with weeping* (Ps. 102:9; D. 101:10), to be *fed with the bread of tears* (Ps. 80:5; D. 79:6), to have the *plenteousness of tears* which the Lord giveth *to drink.* They always sit at the banquet with their Father, the Merciful and Gentle, the Giver of all good things with benedictions. Let us continually turn our eyes to the Judge — the severe, the jealous, the strict Examiner, not only into our works, but into every idle word. There is no readier way by which we may obtain their happy condition, no easier access, no more profitable advance. This way is strait in the ingress, more tolerable in the progress, more fruitful in the egress. This is the beginning of the road that leads to our Country; for *the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom* (Ps. 111:10; D. 110:10).

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THE MISERY OF A WICKED PRIEST (Sermon LVI. On the Priesthood)

Certainly a devout and prudent Priest, while he stands at the Divine table, will think of nothing else but *Jesus Christ, and Him crucified* (I Cor. 2:2). He will set before the eyes of his heart the humility of Christ, the patience of Christ, His Passion and sorrows; the reproaches of Christ — the spittings, the scourging, the spear, the Cross, the Death; he devoutly and solicitously recalls and crucifies himself in the memory of the Lord's Passion. . . . O how awful, how perilous a thing, my brethren, is the administration of your office! because ye shall have to answer not only for your own souls, but for the souls committed to your charge, when the Day of tremendous Judgment shall come! And how shall he keep another man's conscience whose own is not kept? For conscience is an abyss — a most obscure night: and what, then, of the wretched Priest who has undertaken this night, and to whom they cry, *Watchman, what of the day? Watchman, what of the night* (cf. Isa. 21:11)? What is that most wretched Priest to do who feels himself loaded with sins, implicated with cares, infected with the filthiness of carnal desires, blind, bowed down, weak, straitened by a thousand difficulties, anxious through a thousand necessities, miserable with a thousand troubles, precipitate to vices, weak to virtues? What shall he do — the son of grief — the son of eternal misery — who neither kindles the fire of love in himself, nor in others? Surely he is prepared for the fuel and the consumption of fire! *A fire is kindled in the fury of the Lord* (cf. Jer. 15:14); and it shall burn even to the nethermost hell. A place is appointed for him with everlasting burnings; the worm is prepared which dieth not, — smoke, vapour, and the vehemence of storms; horror, and a deep shade; the weight of chains of repentance that bind, that burn, and that consume not! From which may that Fire deliver us Who consumes not, but consummates — which devours not, but enlightens every man that cometh into the world. May He illuminate us to give the knowledge of salvation unto His people; Who liveth and reigneth ever with the Father and the Holy Ghost, God to all ages of ages.

POPE INNOCENT III

(c. 1160(98)–1216)

THE preaching, however matter-of-fact, of such a scholar, ecclesiastical reformer, and political negotiator ought not be wholly neglected. His sermons, almost entirely unavailable in translation, are represented here by one example of his spiritualized exegesis and carefully measured treatment. The primacy of the Roman bishopric, the unexcelled preaching of Peter and Paul, and the glorious reign of the Church over all the faithful are developed by means of allegory and proof text. The translation of Dr. Louise P. Smith is based on MPL 217:555–58.

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HOW WE OUGHT TO UNDERSTAND THE SEA AS THE WORLD, THE SHIP AS THE CHURCH, THE DEEP SEA AS ROME AND THE NET AS PREACHING (Sermon XXII on the Saints: The Festival of the Apostles Peter and Paul)

When Jesus had entered *into one of the ships, which was Simon's . . . , sitting he taught the multitude out of the ship. Now when he had ceased to speak, he said to Simon, Launch out into the deep and let down your nets for a draught. And Simon answering said to him: Master, we have laboured all the night and have taken nothing: but at thy word I will let down the net. And when they had done this, they enclosed a very great multitude of fishes* (Luke 5: 3–6).

If *many waters* signify many people (Rev. 19:6), the whole world is certainly denoted by the *great sea.* In *this great sea which stretcheth wide its arms there are creeping things without number, creatures little and great. There the ships shall go* (Ps. 104:25 f.; D. 103: 25 f.).

Just as the sea is always stormy and turbulent, so the world remains always in storm and stress; nowhere is there peace and security, never is there rest and quietness, but everywhere toil and trouble. *For the whole world is seated in wickedness* (I John 5:19). *Laughter shall be mingled with sorrow, and mourning taketh hold of the end of joy* (Prov. 14:13). With reason, therefore, the apostle laments: *Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death* (Rom. 7:24)? And the Psalmist said, *Bring my soul out of prison* (Ps. 142:7; D. 141:8). *Man is born to labour and the bird to fly* (Job 5:7). *All his days are sorrows and miseries, even in the night he doth not rest in mind* (Eccles. 2:23). *Great labour is created for all men, and a heavy yoke is upon the sons of Adam, from the day of their coming out of their mother's womb until the day of burial in the mother of all* (Ecclus. 40:1). In the sea, the small fishes are devoured by the great; and in the world, the weak men are oppressed by the strong. *They eat up my people,* the Psalmist says, *as they eat bread. They have not called upon God; there they have trembled for fear* (Ps. 53:4, 5; D. 52:5, 6). *The wild ass is the lion's prey in the desert: so also are the poor devoured by the rich* (Ecclus.

13:23). As the poet says, *The wrongs Kings do, are suffered by their subjects* (Hor. *Ep*. I. 11:14).

When Christ said to Peter, *Launch out into the deep* — that depth of the sea is Rome, Rome which held and holds primacy and sovereignty over the whole world, the city which God deemed worthy of such high dignity that she alone in pagan times had dominion over all nations, and in Christian times she alone has authority over all the faithful. God, therefore, prepared a place worthy and suitable; indeed, He provided both suitability and worth when He commanded him who was Head of the Church to establish his throne in the city which held the primacy of the world. Thus the Lord said to Peter, *Launch into the deep* (Luke 5:4); saying in effect, Go to Rome, proceed, you and yours, to the city and there *let down nets for a draught* (*Ibid.*).

We see clearly how much God loved that city: to make her alone both priestly and royal, both imperial and apostolic, to give her power to win and exercise, not only dominion over bodies, but also authority over souls. She is now far greater and more honorable with heavenly authority than formerly with earthly power. By the one she holds the keys of the kingdom of heaven; by the other she holds the reins of the realm of earth. Truly, to no other city can there ever come the honor of such dignity — or rather the dignity of such honor. But in this city the dignity will remain by the eternal law of God's providence.

When Peter had left Rome in flight from the persecution of unbelievers, the Lord appeared to him near the city. When Peter said to him, " Lord, whither goest thou? " he answered: " I go to Rome to be crucified again." Peter understood that this was spoken concerning himself, since the head is crucified with every member. He returned to the city, and consecrated it with his blood shed on the cross.

Also, he had as helper there the most blessed Paul. This is the reason why, in our text, a singular verb is followed by a plural. *Launch* [thou] *into the deep: and* [you] *let down the nets for a draught,* because Peter, the Head of the whole Church, alone ascended to the height of supreme pontiff, but he and Paul, together, let down their nets of preaching to catch men in the city. Certainly it was only by a special dispensation of divine Providence that exactly where two brothers according to the flesh, Romulus and Remus, who founded the material city, lie buried in honorable tombs, two brothers according to the faith, Peter and Paul, who laid the spiritual foundations of the city, lie at rest buried in two glorious churches — Peter in that quarter where Romulus is buried, and Paul on the other side where Remus is buried. So from both sides, they watch over and guard your city. One indeed reached the height, but both let down nets for a draught.

Further, as the ship is Christ, the sea the world, the deep Rome, so by the net we understand preaching. For as a net is composed of different cords and strings, a sermon is also made strong by different authorities and arguments. And the careful preacher ought to compose his sermon with a variety of material and many different authorities so that he speaks now of virtues, now of faults; sometimes of rewards, again of penalties, somewhat of mercy, and somewhat of justice; now simply, now subtly; using history, then allegory; speaking now literally, now figuratively; citing authorities and giving arguments; employing metaphors and illustrations — so that *each point takes its place fitly set forth* (Hor. *de Art. Poet.*).

These are the threads, these are the cords of which the net, that is, the sermon, is composed and made strong. This is taught by St. Paul, a peerless preacher who says concerning himself, *We speak wisdom among the perfect. For I judged not myself to know anything among you, but Jesus Christ and Him crucified* (I Cor. 2:6, 2). *And again, I could not speak to you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal. As unto little ones in Christ, I gave you milk to drink, not meat* (I Cor. 3:1, 2).

Moreover, with nets we capture fishes, birds, and beasts. But fishes are in the water, birds in air, beasts on the earth. By fishes we understand the self-indulgent, by birds the proud, by beasts the violent. Therefore, the preacher composes his sermon against self-indulgence, pride, and passion; and he includes citations from authorities and arguments, comparisons, and illustrations in order to win the self-indulgent to self-control, the proud to humility, the passionate to mildness. So, when he lets down the net of his preaching, he may capture fishes in the water, birds in the air, beasts on the earth. But he does not kill his captives, he gives them new life. He does not slay; he feeds them. He does not abandon them; he protects them.

Such nets the most blessed saints, Peter and Paul, alike, let down for the draught. By their preaching Rome was converted from error to truth, from sins to virtues. Therefore, Rome owes veneration to all the apostles, but to these two she owes peculiar and especial honor as first and pre-eminent, as her own fathers and protectors. By their merits and prayers may she be so preserved on earth, that in the end she may be crowned with joy in heaven. In the name of our Lord, Jesus Christ, who is above all, God, blessed for ever. Amen.

FRANCIS OF ASSISI

(1182–1226)

THIS dedicated man of the Church and servant of all in need has left us no sermons, as such. His *Admonitions,* his vernacular *Song of the Sun,* and his *Prayers* give us some idea of his homiletic propensities and spiritual benefactions. The excerpt below, taken from the so-called " Letter to All the Faithful," has in its tone and substance the very qualities of Gospel paraphrase, Churchly obedience, and penitence-inciting humility that his *Rule* demands from preachers. It is reproduced with the gracious permission of The Dolphin Press, from Father Paschal Robinson. *The Writings of Saint Francis of Assisi.* Philadelphia, 1905; pp. 98–103. Cf. Fr.A.B. — W 33 ff.

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A SERMONIC EXHORTATION: " LETTER TO ALL THE FAITHFUL "

To all Christians, religious, clerics, and laics, men and women, to all who dwell in the whole world, Brother Francis, their servant and subject, presents reverent homage, wishing true peace from heaven and sincere charity in the Lord.

Being the servant of all, I am bound to serve all and to administer the balm-bearing words of my Lord. Wherefore, considering in my mind that, because of the infirmity and weakness of my body, I cannot visit each one personally, I propose by this present letter and message to offer you the words of our Lord Jesus Christ who is the Word of the Father and the words of the Holy Ghost which are *spirit and life* (John 6:63; D. 6:64).

This Word of the Father, so worthy, so holy and glorious, whose coming the most High Father announced from heaven by His holy archangel Gabriel to the holy and glorious Virgin Mary in whose womb He received the true flesh of our humanity and frailty, He, being rich above all, willed, nevertheless, with His most blessed Mother, to choose poverty.

And when His Passion was nigh, He celebrated the Pasch with His disciples and, taking bread, He gave thanks and blessed and broke saying: *Take ye and eat: this is My Body*. And, taking the chalice, He said: *This is My Blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for you and for many unto remission of sins* (Matt. 26: 26–28). After that He prayed to the Father, saying: *Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from Me* (Matt. 26:39). *And His sweat became as drops of blood, trickling down upon the ground* (Luke 22:44). But withal, He gave up His will to the will of the Father, saying: *Father, Thy will be done: not as I will, but as Thou wilt* (cf. Matt. 26:39). Such was the will of the Father that His Son, Blessed and Glorious, whom He gave to us, and who was born for us, should by His own Blood, sacrifice, and oblation, offer Himself on the altar of the Cross, not for Himself, by whom *all things were made* (John 1:3), but for our sins, leaving us an example that we should follow His steps. And He wishes that we should all be saved by Him and that we should receive Him with a pure heart and a chaste body. But there are few who wish to receive Him and to be saved by Him, although His yoke is sweet and His burden light.

Those who will not taste how sweet the Lord is and who love darkness rather than the light, not wishing to fulfil the commandments of God are cursed: of them it is said by the prophet: *They are cursed who decline from Thy commandments* (Ps. 119:21; D. 118:21). But, O how happy and blessed are those who love the Lord, who do as the Lord Himself says in the Gospel: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart and with thy whole soul and . . . thy neighbor as thyself* (Matt. 22:37–39). Let us therefore love God and adore Him with a pure heart and a pure mind because He Himself, seeking that above all, says: *The true adorers shall adore the Father in spirit and in truth* (John 4:23). For all who *adore Him, must adore Him in spirit and in truth* (4:24). And let us offer Him praises and prayers day and night, saying: *Our Father who art in heaven* (Luke 11:2), for *we ought always to pray, and not to faint* (18:1).

We ought indeed to confess all our sins to a priest and receive from him the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. He who does not eat His Flesh and does not drink His Blood cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. Let him, however, eat and drink worthily, because he who receives unworthily *eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the Body of the Lord* (I Cor. 11:29), — that is, not discerning it from other foods.

Let us, moreover, *bring forth fruits worthy of penance* (Luke 3:8). And let us love our neighbors as ourselves, and if any one does not wish to love them as himself or cannot, let him at least do them not harm, but let him do good to them.

Let those who have received the power of judging others, exercise judgment with mercy, as they hope to obtain mercy from the Lord. For let judgment without mercy be shown to him that doth not mercy. Let us then have charity and humility and let us give alms because they wash souls from the foulness of sins. For men lose all which they leave in this world; they carry with them, however, the reward of charity and alms which they have given, for which they shall receive a recompense and worthy remuneration from the Lord.

We ought also to fast and to abstain from vices and sins and from superfluity of food and drink, and to be Catholics. We ought also to visit Churches frequently and to reverence clerics not only for themselves, if they are sinners, but on account of their office and administration of the most holy Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which they sacrifice on the altar and receive and administer to others. And let us all know for certain that no one can be saved except by the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ and by the holy words of the Lord which clerics say and announce and distribute and they alone administer and not others. But religious especially, who have renounced the world, are bound to do more and greater things, but *not to leave the other undone* (Luke 11:42).

JACQUES DE VITRY

(d. 1240)

WITH this English translation of a typical sermon for people in a specific condition of life, we may see why De Vitry is said by a medieval writer to have "moved France with his preaching as no one before or after him." A cosmopolitan in the best sense of Christian flexibility, regional impatience, and forgivable homiletic opportunism, he preached to the people, where they were, a gospel designed to move them heavenward. The sermon here translated from J. de Vitry 457–67 by Dr. Louise P. Smith proves that medieval preachers were not wholly devoid of interest in the laboring people. Nor were they lacking in illustrative devices and crowd appeal.

SERMON TO FARMERS, VINE-DRESSERS, AND OTHER WORKMEN (LX: Popular Sermons)

Text — Zech. 13:5. *I am a farmer, for Adam was my example from my youth.*

In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening let not thy hand cease: for thou knowest not which may rather spring up, this or that. With these words, using the farmer as an example, Ecclesiastes (11:6) exhorts us to perseverance and industry in preaching the word of God. For there are many things which we ought to say to our people, and we must not shorten our sermons out of laziness. If one point fails to arouse our hearers, another succeeds; and when one man is not moved, another is. Some who are not convinced by the beginning of the sermon are converted by the end. This is why Ecclesiastes says that a man must sow in the morning and in the evening, for so he grows rich and becomes affluent quickly.

Also, we read in Ecclesiasticus (20:30), *He that tilleth his land shall make a high heap of grain: and he that worketh justice shall be exalted.* And Solomon says in Proverbs (12:11), *He that tilleth his land shall be satisfied with bread.* Clearly, he means tilling the land of our bodies by whipping them and inflicting pain on them, cultivating the land of the Church by teaching and instructing those subject to her, cultivating our own souls by exercising them in virtue and good works.

Therefore, in the morning we ought to sow spiritual seed in the hearts of our hearers, and we ought not to leave off in the evening. But from the beginning to the end, we should continue in good works, as the Apostle wrote to the Galatians (6:9), *And in doing good, let us not fail. For in due time we shall reap, not failing.* Just as a good farmer does not stop work for rain or cold, so a wise man does not cease from good works because of adversity. And as a farmer beginning his work invokes the help of God and makes the sign of the Cross before he starts his labor, so before beginning a sermon we ought with the sign of the Cross to drive off the birds of Hell, lest they snatch the seed of the word of God from the field of our hearts. And we should pray God to send the dew of tears and the sun of His grace upon the seed of His word and make it bear fruit today in your hearts.

I am a farmer. . . . Agriculture, in the literal sense, and manual labor are highly praised in Holy Scripture. Without them the state cannot endure (cf. Ecclus. 38:36). After the Fall, penance was imposed upon Adam and his sons: *In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread* (Gen. 3:19). Consequently those who work with the intention of doing the penance imposed upon them by the Highest Priest [1] certainly gain no less merit than those who chant all day in church or keep vigil from night until morning. Truly, we see many poor farmers who support a wife and children by the work of their hands and labor harder than monks in cloisters or clergy in churches. If they do this in charity, with the intention of doing the penance imposed on them by God, they merit eternal life and gain for themselves, besides, temporal maintenance. Obviously, if, like brute beasts, they have no purpose beyond gaining something to chew or guzzle, they have their reward in this life and deserve no other for their work. Such men are extremely stupid and foolish; although they could convert penalty into penance, they refuse to do it because they have eyes only for temporal gain; yet they work no less hard than the others who keep their eyes on God. Truly, in the very same field, one man can work at harvesting to do penance, another only to get money, a third to steal the sheaves. In your sight they work equally; but one merits eternal life, the second, earthly gain, the third, eternal damnation. A clever woman also can, if she so purposes, do penance and at the same time gain property; another works no less hard but gains only the property because she seeks nothing else.

Amos, the prophet, assures us that labor of this kind, the penalty imposed by God on our first parents, may be converted into penance, for he says (5:16): *They shall call the husbandman to mourning and such as are skillful in lamentation to lament.* But many who are not good eat the work of their hands, as we read of Cain; and also many work hard but gather no harvest, because they are devoured by mortal sin.

According to Genesis (2:15), *The Lord . . . put man in Paradise*

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[1] I.e., *God,* cf. below.

. . . *to dress it and to keep it.* Therefore, it is necessary both to cultivate and to preserve. Otherwise, work is of no use. We should therefore preserve by cultivating and thus by preserving cultivate. For the idle, who do not wish to cultivate, not only fail to gain any good, but lose what they have. Unless then, we cultivate, we shall not succeed in preserving what we have. But by cultivation, we are made perfect, just as is said in Ecclesiasticus (20:30): *He that tilleth his land shall make a high heap of corn.* And again he says (Ecclus. 7:16): *Hate not laborious works, nor husbandry ordained by the Most High.* And Solomon says (Eccles. 5:18; D. 5:17): *This therefore hath seemed good to me that a man should eat and drink and enjoy the fruit of his labor wherewith he hath labored under the sun.*

Again, a life of labor in the literal sense and living by one's own toil are praised by the Apostle when he says (Eph. 4:28): *He that stole, let him now steal no more; but rather let him labor, working with his hands . . . that he may have something to give him that suffereth need.* Two hands then we must have, one for working, the other for giving, and he who lacks either is considered maimed. The farmer's work is also recognized as especially honorable since this kind of labor is allowed to the clergy and to those under monastic rule (*regularibus persones*); they may cultivate their lands and work with their own hands provided they do not omit the church services to which they are bound. But business is forbidden them. He speaks against the greedy who are always troubled and worried by their anxiety to gain and hoard: *There is none worse than he that envieth himself* (Ecclus. 14:6). This is the greedy man who deprives himself of necessities *and this is the reward of his wickedness* (14:6), that he is subjected to the deprivation which he endures for his baseness. So Ambrose says of the greedy: *What worse can you wish him than a long life?* And Augustine: *Who is more greedy than the man whom God cannot satisfy?* And in Proverbs (15:27) we read: *He that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house because he opens his mind to the winds and the suggestions of demons.* Now he *disturbs his own house,* that is, his family, by restricting their necessities and by saying, " You eat too much, you drink too much." And in Ecclesiastes (2:23) it is stated: *All his days are full of sorrows and miseries, even in the night he doth not rest his mind.* Again he says (5:13, 14; D. 5:12, 13) *riches kept to the hurt of the owner . . . are lost with* *very great affliction.* A little farther on (5:17; D. 5:16), *All the days of his life he eateth in darkness and in many cares, and in misery and sorrow.* Once more he says of the greedy (6:2), *A man to whom God hath given riches and substance and honor . . . yet God doth not give him power to eat thereof but a stranger shall eat it.* With Ecclesiasticus 14:10 we read, *the poor man is not satisfied with bread and will sit by his table in sadness.* And again the greedy are admonished (11:18–20), *there is one who is rich by doing* — that is, by grasping — *greedily and this is the portion of his reward. In that he saith: I have found me rest and now I will eat of my goods alone, and he knoweth not what time shall pass and that death approacheth, and that he must leave all to others and die.* This is what the greedy rich man said who wished to enlarge his barns and store up wealth for many years. *My soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years* (Luke 12:19). To him it was said: *Thou fool, this night they shall require thy soul of thee* (vs. 20). And Ecclesiasticus says (5:1), *Set not thy heart upon unjust possessions and say not: I have enough to live on: for it shall be of no service in the time of vengeance and darkness,* that is, of death. There are some men who are always struggling to acquire and never have enough, who are always unhappy and in want. Of such men Ecclesiasticus (11:11) says, *There is an ungodly man that laboreth and maketh haste and is in sorrow and is so much the more in want.* For the Devil (Diabolus) displays riches to lead men to desire them, and takes them away to make them more conscious of poverty; just as small boys punch a hole in a quarter and tie a string to it, and when a passer-by bends over and tries to pick it up, they pull it back to tease him. So Pharaoh, that is, the Devil, took away the straw of riches and none-the-less demanded the same number of bricks. For although men are poor, they are still greedy and long for great wealth. Truly the Devil catches those who are confined within the narrow bounds of poverty as easily as a hunter shoots his arrows and wounds wild beasts in a narrow ravine. For Tyre is the diminutive daughter of Sidon (that is, hunting[1]).

As too great thirst at times forces a man to drink dirty water; greed, which is *the root of all evils* (I Tim. 6:10), drives farmers and laborers to many sins — even to the losing of their souls — for the sake of a small strip of land. To gain at most a single extra furrow for themselves, they drive their wagons on their neighbors' land, or they move the posts and boundary lines of the fields. Hosea (10:13) says of them: *You have ploughed wickedness,* that is, land wrongfully acquired, *you have reaped iniquity,* that is, you have gathered harvest which was not yours, *you have eaten the fruit of lying;* by *lying* is meant saying the land stolen from another is mine. And again Hosea says (5:10): *The princes of Judah are as they that take up the bound,* that is, moving the boundaries of the fields. And in Proverbs (22:28) we find: *Pass not beyond the ancient bounds which thy fathers have set.* This is intended to be applied to the heretics who transgress beyond the bounds of the Catholic faith which the doctors of the Church set up in the beginning. Deuteronomy (19:14) says: *Thou shalt not take nor remove thy neighbor's landmark, which thy predecessors have set in thy possession.*

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[1] By derivation from the Hebrew root *tsud,* hunt.

Still other men are in danger of losing their souls by greedily keeping back the tithes they owe. Such men are judged to be not only thieves, but sacrilegious, besides. For tithes are consecrated to the officials of the Church and belong to them, as is proved by the last chapter of Leviticus, *All tithes of the land whether of grain or of the fruits of trees are the Lord's and are sanctified to Him* (vs. 30). And Jerome — *To rob a friend of anything is treacherous: to defraud the Church is sacrilege.* Not only the Old Testament, but the New also, teaches that tithes should be paid. For the Lord says in Matthew (23:23): *Woe to you scribes and Pharisees . . . because you tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left the weightier things of the law, judgment and mercy and faith. These things you ought to have done, and not to have left those undone.* Further Augustine says: *Pay tithes. Whatever you keep back from the tithe which is the share of the angels, sinks straight into hell.* For tithes are the dues we owe for an eternal inheritance. And he who does not pay such dues loses land and home. Note Proverbs (28:24): *He that stealeth anything of his father or from his mother and saith, This is no sin, is the partner of a murderer.* From this it is clear how heinous a sin it is to withhold what is due to a spiritual Father, and to Mother Church; it is compared to murder.

It is said of the swan that it bears ten cygnets and is the enemy of snakes, and those who pay tithes honestly are enemies of the Devil and friends of God. Equally, those who fail to pay in full are enemies of God. As God himself said through Malachi (3:8, 9): *Shall a man afflict God? For you afflict me. And you have said: Wherein do we afflict thee? in tithes and in first fruits and in money you are cursed.* See how great a sin it is to keep back tithes, since God complains that He Himself is afflicted and tortured. And Malachi continues (3:10): *Bring all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in my house and try me in this, saith the Lord: if I open not unto you the floodgates of heaven, and pour you out a blessing even to abundance.* This proves that when tithes are not paid God sends unfruitfulness and poverty, but to those who pay fully he sends abundance. Besides that, *Give and it shall be given to you* (Luke 6:38). And it is commanded in Exodus (22:29), *Thou shalt not delay to pay thy tithes and thy first fruits.* Augustine says, *If you delay paying your tithes, it is a sin; it is a still worse sin not to pay them at all.* And again he says: *If you give your tithes, not only will you receive abundant crops, you will also gain health of body.* Now, with the ecclesiastical tax, the Church can force you to pay each year tithes of all your crops and of your young animals. Not from compulsion, but voluntarily and joyfully, ought you to give God His due, that is, the tithes which God requires of us for the payment of His servants and as acknowledgment of His universal dominion. Compare Ecclesiasticus (35:11): *In every gift show a cheerful countenance and sanctify thy tithes with joy.* But the laity not only object to paying tithes from their property, they expect also to receive, in the sacraments, much more than the value of the tithes which the Lord assigned to officials of the Church and to those who administer the sacraments. *For the laborer is worthy of his hire* (Luke 10:7). If, then, laymen do not administer the sacraments nor celebrate mass, it is pure impudence for them to arrogate to themselves the pay of clergy and the spiritual dues, and to presume to appropriate them for themselves as if they had a hereditary right to them, to the danger of their souls. There are some who pay not a tenth but scarcely a twentieth or a fortieth.

If they do pay a tenth of some things, they offer the worse to God and keep the better for themselves. That way they lose both property and reward, as it is said of Cain that he offered to God grain from the road sides which had been eaten by animals; and God, therefore, *had no respect to Cain and his offerings* (Gen. 4:5). For we ought to take the best fruits of our land and bring them as gifts *to the Man* (cf. Eph. 4:8) — that is, to Christ. Compare Numbers (18:29): *All things that you shall offer of the tithes, and shall separate for the gifts of the Lord, shall be the best and choicest things;* and Malachi says (1:8): *If you offer the blind for sacrifice is it not evil? . . . Offer it to thy prince if he will be pleased with it* (this means that it will not please him). And he says again (1:14): *Cursed is the deceitful man that hath in his flock a male and making a vow offereth in sacrifice that which is feeble to the Lord.* So it is plain that we ought to pay the full tithes to the Lord and take them from the better, or even the best of our possessions, in universal recognition of his dominion. For we are enrolled servants of a master who has left us nine shares and willed to keep only one tenth for himself and his clergy. Indeed when there were no clergy of the church, nor any officials to receive tithes in the name of the Lord, He even then desired that a part of His own goods be returned to Him and be burned with fire in His honor. This is clearly stated of Abel's sacrifice in another translation (Gen. 4:4), *God blazed above Abel and his offerings.*

God ordered not only tithes but also first fruits to be offered, compare Proverbs (3:9), *Honor the Lord with thy substance and give to the poor* [1] *the first of all thy fruits.* In obedience to this command, some give to the poor the first loaf of bread instead of the first fruits. In the same way, before they eat meat or fish, they always separate a piece for the use of the poor, and give them the first dish of sauce. And in the same way, they allot a portion from the threshing floor and wine press. I have even heard that some devout and wise matrons, when they have finished their weaving, donate the first part to the poor before they take any for their own use. And in this way, in places where the first fruits are not given to the clergy of the church, almsgiving of this kind is practiced instead of offering the first fruits. But some men are so dominated by greed that they give to the poor neither the first nor the last portion, but devour and consume the whole themselves. Of such it is said in Job (20:21), *Nothing shall continue of his goods.* These are men who bestow the food of the poor, that is, the left-over food, on their dogs or chickens, or keep it until it spoils. For example, I have heard of a certain rich miser who had a pie saved so long that when it was cut at the table before

[1] Douay, *to Him,* but compare Tob. 4:7.

himself and the guests who were dining with him, mice ran out. Some men, influenced by the same greed, keep needed garments which they ought to give the poor until they are fit for nothing at all. Our Lord Jesus Christ gave freely to us the garment of his body at the time when it was best for us — that is, when he was thirty-three — but they [the greedy] cheat the poor of what is due them. And this tale I have heard, of a certain miserly soldier. He had dined in the hall of a nobleman and after dinner was looking for his cloak which a servant had put with the other garments. He could not find it quickly, and he began to scold the servant in front of all the company and said, " You son of a harlot, bring my cloak quickly, don't you know which it is? " The offended servant answered indignantly while everyone listened, " I have known it very well, sir, for the last seven years; but I cannot find it." The soldiers who heard began to laugh and to deride the miser, to his great discomfort.

Others send to be sold the old clothes which should, by right, belong to the poor, or hand them over as payment to their barbers or their washer women. I have even heard of some who make a short coat out of a cloak, and after they have worn the coat for a long time they make a jacket, and later from the jacket slippers, and at last from the slippers, half shoes and thus deprive the poor of the whole. They prefer to have the mice, rather than the poor, keep themselves warm in the clothes which they allow to grow mouldy on clothes racks. But the handsomest clothes rack for a rich man is the body of a poor man where garments are kept safe and not eaten by moths nor stolen by thieves. I have even seen certain greedy, rich men who kept the year's harvest in their granaries and the wine in their cellars while they waited for a time of scarcity; and they kept it so long that when they brought it out the grain was good for nothing, and the wine spoiled and fetid; because they were not willing either animals or poor should have any use of it. Such are not only labeled thieves or robbers as Isaiah (3:14) says, *the spoil of the poor is in your house,* but besides they will be condemned as murderers since they made no effort to help the poor who were dying of hunger. For so far as it depends on them, while they are waiting for a time of scarcity, they are desiring the death of the poor. I have heard of such a woman whose husband gave her his keys and the guardianship of all his property. She kept everything without any pity for the poor and she gave nothing for God's sake to the needy, since she promised herself a long life. But it happened that she died. When they asked her husband to give alms for the sake of his wife's soul, he was more concerned with his second marriage than with the soul of his dead wife and replied with the French proverb: " Berta had all my property in her power, let her have the benefit of what she did for her own soul." *Berte fu ale mait, se elle dona si en ait.*

Also, there are men who lack all pity and piety, for they do not allow the poor to gather the stalks left by the reapers but keep them for their pigs. Likewise, in the vintage they do not allow the few clusters missed by the grape-gatherers to be collected by the poor, and are not even willing to leave the straw after threshing for the use of the poor. All this is contrary to good custom and honor and it is also against the commands of God and the divine law. For Leviticus (23:22) requires: *When you reap the grain of your land, you shall not cut it to the very ground: neither shall you gather the ears that remain; but you shall leave them for the poor and for the strangers.*

And again Leviticus says (19:9, 10): *When thou reapest the grain of thy land, thou shalt not cut down all that is on the face of the ground to the very ground; nor shalt thou gather the ears that remain. Neither shalt thou gather the bunches and grapes that fall down in thy vineyard, but shalt leave them to the poor and the strangers to take.* And Deuteronomy (24:19–21): *When thou hast reaped the corn in thy field and hast forgot and left a sheaf, thou shalt not return to take it away: but thou shalt suffer the stranger, and the fatherless and the widows to take it away: that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all the works of thy hands. If thou have gathered the fruit of thy olive trees, thou shalt not return to gather whatsoever remaineth on the trees: but shalt leave it for the stranger and the widow. If thou make the vintage of thy vineyard, thou shalt not gather the clusters that remain, but they shall be for the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow.*

See how the Lord cuts off every occasion for sordid greed from His servants since He wishes them to be kind, generous, and noble, that is, bountiful. The first ill-gotten money brought death to aliens, and enervating riches destroyed the world with shameful luxury.

Again, from those who through greed or carelessness allow their animals to go into the fields and destroy the property of others, Exodus (22:5) requires, *If any man hurt a field or a vineyard and put in his beast to feed upon that which is other men's: he shall restore the best of whatsoever he hath in his own field or in his vineyard according to the estimation of the damage.* And those who treat their workmen badly, Deuteronomy (24:14 f.) commands: *Thou shalt not refuse the hire of the needy and the poor, whether he be thy brother or a stranger that dwelleth with thee in the land, and is within thy gates: but thou shalt pay him the price of his labor the same day before the going down of the sun, because he is poor and with it maintaineth his life.* In Leviticus (19:13) the Lord says: *The wages of him that hath been hired by thee shalt not abide with thee until the morning.* Tobias says (4:15) to his son: *If any man hath done any work for thee, immediately pay him his hire, and let not the wages of thy hired servant stay with thee at all.* Witness, further, Ecclesiasticus (34:25): *The bread of the needy is the life of the poor: he that defraudeth them thereof is a man of blood.* And farther on (34:27): *He that sheddeth blood and he that defraudeth the laborer of his hire are robbers* [D. *brothers*]. And Job declared (31:39 f.): *If I . . . have afflicted the soul of the tillers* of the soil *let thistles grow up to me instead of wheat.* And James said (5:4): *Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth: and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.*

However, there are dishonest laborers who hurry and try to be working hard when the employer is present; but when they are out of sight, they are slow and lazy, not considering that he who receives twelve denarii for a day's work, and, by pretending to work, does less than six denarii worth, is under obligation to return the extra he received of which he defrauded his employer. Compare Colossians (3:22): *Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh, not serving to the eye as pleasing men, but in simplicity of heart, fearing God.*

But on the other hand, let farmers and other laborers beware lest they be led by greed to work on the Lord's day and other holy days, the celebration of which is required. For the Lord in the law strictly commands the keeping of the Sabbath, and in many places complaint is made by the holy prophets over the violation of the Sabbath, like that of Ezekiel (23:38): *They . . . profaned my sabbath.*

God orders the keeping of the Lord's day to begin the preceding evening, and the same is true of other holy days which are similar to the Sabbath. Even the saints complain of these who fail to keep their festivals as the Church directs them to be celebrated. Those who work for gain on such days will be far from successful. For if the law orders a man who collected sticks on the Sabbath to be stoned — a punishment never ordered except for mortal sin — those who do not keep the holy days enjoined in the time of grace will be stoned much harder in hell. Therefore, on these holy and sacred days, we ought not to do servile work but to attend to spiritual things and the safety of our souls. We ought not to buy or sell, except perhaps those things which are necessary for the day. But it would be safer to prepare for the holy day by buying food beforehand. No public market should be held. No entertainments should be presented, nor any lawsuits prosecuted on those days which Christians should spend *in psalms, hymns, and spiritual canticles* (Col. 3:16). Also, not only men, but animals, are required to rest, so that we may not carry loads on pack animals or wagons. Compare Jeremiah (17:22, 24): *Do not bring burdens out of your house on the Sabbath day, and bring them not in by the gates.* And our Lord says in Exodus (20:9): *Six days shalt thou labor . . . on the seventh day thou shalt cease, that thy ox and ass may rest, and the son of thy handmaid and the stranger may be refreshed* (cf. Deut. 5:14).

But if necessity forces you to plow or to gather fruit because of an enemy who, on other days, would capture or kill the workmen, then — because necessity knows no law — by order of the Church, work of this kind can be done, but greater donations than usual must be given to the poor. Therefore, farmers and other workmen ought to come to church on the Lord's day to hear from the priests when and how they should keep the holy days. But some (especially those who spend their days in the fields and forests) are so careless and ignorant and uncivilized, because they rarely enter a church, that they do not know when a holy day comes except as they see no wagons in the field or hear no wood-chopping. There is an old story that there once lived, in an old country mansion, an elderly man who, through long practice, had learned the holy days. Always, on the days which were generally celebrated in that district, he put on his boots that he had painted red. When the neighbors saw the color, they said to their households, “ Today we must celebrate, for Master Gocelinus is wearing his red shoes.”

Still worse are the men who not only work on holy days, but even sneak in when others have gone to church and stealthily carry off their property. Or, because on such days there are no people in the fields and vineyards as there are on ordinary days, these cursed men steal the grain or fruit from the fields and gardens and the grapes from the vines. By their wickedness they make themselves obnoxious to all and come, at last, to a bad end. They are like the lion who spared no one when he was strong; when he grew old so that he could not defend himself, he was maltreated by those whom he had injured. The wild boar wounded him with his tusks; the bull tossed him on his horns; the ass kicked him with his hoofs; the wolf scattered filth on him; and many who had not themselves been harmed by him, now inflicted injuries on him because of his ferocity.

So it is good to show oneself kind and friendly. For example, I have heard of some who not only drive strayed animals out of their own fields and the fields of their friends, but even from the fields of their enemies. They repair broken hedges; and if they see an ass belonging to those who hate them fallen down under a load, they help their enemies by getting it on its feet again. For a man who helps many will find someone who repays him, as in the story of the lion who had a thorn in his foot. He was forced by necessity to stretch out his paw to a shepherd, who drew out the thorn from the lion’s paw. After some time it happened that the lion was caught and presented alive to the Emperor, and the Emperor had him put with the other wild beasts. Later the shepherd, for something he had done, was captured and taken to the Emperor and was sent to the wild beasts to be devoured. The lion recognized him and not only spared him, but prevented his being harmed by the other beasts. When this was told the Emperor, he was greatly astonished and had the shepherd brought before him. When he had learned the truth he allowed, not only the shepherd, but also the lion, to go free.

Therefore, do not be rough and boorish but generous and kind. For the labor of farmers and other workmen, when it is well done, is of great value and is acceptable to our Lord Jesus Christ who lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.

JEAN DE SAINT-GILLES

(c. 1180–1260)

THIS Englishman studied and taught at several universities, including Oxford, Paris, and Montpellier. He attained fame as a professor of both medicine and theology. He enjoyed a versatile career as a physician, being at one time in the service of Phillip Augustus; and excelled as a theologian, coming to the assistance of Robert Grosseteste during the latter's episcopacy. His entrance into the Dominican order in 1230 did not estop his varied professional activities. The following sermon, based upon the text of Davy Sup. 293–98 and translated by Miss Dorothy Ann Freeman, was preached before the University of Paris in 1231. It places his erudition within a typically scholastic framework.

BE YE MERCIFUL . . . (A Sermon for the Fifth Sunday After Pentecost)

THEME: *Be ye merciful as your Father is merciful* (Luke 6:36).
PROTHEME: *The merciful man deals well with his soul* (Prov. 11:17).
SERMON:

Part I: Be ye merciful.
1. Therefore a. Judge not.
    b. Condemn not.
    c. Forgive faults.
    d. Give spiritual goods.
    e. Give temporal goods.
2. One must be merciful toward himself by leaving the world.

Part II: God gives us the example of mercy.
- a. He gives us his deity through Jesus Christ.
- b. He entrusts us to angels.
- c. He gives us the world.
- d. He has created us in his image.
- e. He makes us to participate in an eternal heritage.

Part III: In return, we owe to God:
- a. The giving of ourselves.
- b. The giving of our goods to the poor.
- c. To serve God and our neighbor.
- d. To seek the knowledge and the wisdom of God.
- e. To work toward our eternal happiness.

CONCLUSION: Jesus asks us to work in his vineyard. If our life is good, he will be merciful to us.

(Theme and Explanation) It is written in the sixth chapter of Luke: *Be ye merciful as your Father is merciful* (vs. 36). Then the Lord touches upon four opposites of mercy, that we may avoid them. The first is: *Judge not* (vs. 37), and is directed against slanderers who destroy men with the sword of evil speaking. The second is: *Condemn not* (*ibid.*). This is directed especially against those of the clergy who condemn the innocent, against whom it is written in Exodus: *An innocent and just man thou shalt not kill* . . . (23:7). By their bad example in accumulating prebends, seeking inheritances, planting vineyards, and acquiring riches and honors, they corrupt and condemn the little ones, that is, the laity. This directly contradicts compassion, whose property it is to scatter freely and not to amass. Furthermore there are those so severe that when they discover a man in mortal sin, they immediately condemn him. Thus they exclude everyone from the way of penitence. In opposition to this Augustine said: " No one ought to be despaired of while yet he lives." Such men, with David, by the sword of the sons of Ammon, which signifies the riotous mob, slew Uriah, who represents the light of the Lord. The third is: *Forgive . . .* (Luke 6:37), that is, forgive the faults, penalties, conflicts, hate, pride, and everything of whatever sort they do not wish to forgive. They are like the devil, of whom it is said: He is cruel and he will not have mercy, even though the Lord says: *I do not say to you seven, but seventy times seven* (Matt. 18:22). They do not wish to release those they have imprisoned, even though it says in the Paralipomenon:[1] *Let the oppressed go free* (Isa. 58:6). For even if he is a poor man, he keeps his own prisoners. Thus in Job: *And if they are in chains, and bound in the cords of poverty, Thou showest them their works, that they have been guilty of violence* (36:8–9). The fourth injunction is: *Give . . .* (Luke 6:39), that is, give both spiritual and temporal things. But we, gladly giving spiritual things, reserve for ourselves the temporal things, and give nothing to others. And likewise nothing shall be given to us, just as not even a drop of water was given to the rich man in the fifteenth chapter of Luke.[2] Therefore, it happens that he who is unmerciful and cruel wrongs himself before he wrongs others. But those who claim that they are merciful, our preachers and teachers who say that they preach and teach because of their zeal for souls and so are merciful in their own eyes, these, nevertheless, are unwilling to show mercy to their own souls, although we read in Proverbs: *The merciful man deals well with his own soul* (11:17).

(Protheme) It is written in the Second Epistle to Timothy: *It is fitting that the farmer who labors should be the first to partake of the fruits . . .* (2:6); likewise in Ecclesiasticus: *Have pity on thy own soul, pleasing God* (30:24).

(Exposition) The same apostles make the statement: *I am rich and*

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[1] Books of Chronicles in the A.V. and R.V.

[2] The parable of the rich man and Lazarus.

made wealthy and have need of nothing (Rev. 3:17), as if to say: I am without sin. But contrarily John says: *If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us* (I John 1:8). And this is because, as it says in Ecclesiasticus: *He shall discern* (D. *choose*) *every plague, but not the plague of the soul* (25:18). In the book of Wisdom it is written: *He pleased God and was beloved* (4:10). Living among sinners he was translated, that is to say, from the world to the cloister, because it is perilous to dwell among sinners. " Who can steal away fire in his breast, without setting his clothing afire? " Obviously, no one. Likewise in Ecclesiasticus: *He that toucheth pitch is defiled with it* (13:1), and *Confession of faith* (D. *praise*) *perishes from* [is impossible to] *the dead as if they were nothing* (17:26). By living [in the world] you confess yourself to possess less discernment than by entering the cloister. But someone will say: " It is easier to remain in the world than to enter the cloister." Yet it is written of Lot in Genesis: *For Lot abode in the mountain* (19:30), by which is signified the cloister, and we do not read that he remained in Sodom, which signifies the world. Further, we can answer that if he had remained there, he would have been consumed. The angel particularly commanded Lot to depart from Sodom; but you, contrary to the angel's instruction, wish to remain in the world. Beware, therefore, lest you perish there with the Sodomites, that is, sinners. But have compassion upon yourselves and depart from the world. For this reason we read: *Be ye merciful,* both to yourselves and others, *as your Father is merciful* (Luke 6:36). To do this signifies, not identification with him, but imitation of him.

(Part I) The Lord has compassion upon us in five benefits which he has conferred upon us.

(Consideration 1.) The first is the truest and highest benefit, namely, that he bestowed upon us his divinity, and that is his Son, the price of our redemption. And, in consequence, he conferred upon us the heavenly kingdom. Thus it was written to the Romans: *He who did not spare his own Son, but gave him for us all, has he not also with him given us all things* (8:32)? That is to say: Certainly he has.

(Consideration 2.) The second benefit is that he has given us the world. As in First Corinthians: *All things are yours . . .* (3:21; D. 3:22). But some one might say that this world is the devil's, according to that statement: *The prince of this world has come and in me* *he has nothing* (John 14:30). And again: *Now the prince of this world shall be cast out* (12:31). To this we answer that there are three things in the world — nature, corruption, and utility. Nature is of God, corruption of the devil, and utility belongs to man. As a certain saint says: " That we live in the world, this is of God; but that we sin, that is of the devil." Also Augustine says: " The sun serves Him, and the moon, and the sea, and the earth, and wherefore do I not serve Him? " We are all debtors of God, awaiting the payment of the price of recompense. For the Apostle says: *The creature itself shall be freed from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the sons of God* (Rom. 8:21). The sun and the moon await the price of their servitude: *The light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun* (Isa. 30:26). Likewise the sea does service, about which it was said: *Here shall your swelling waves be stayed* (Job 38:11). And also the earth serves: *Let the earth bring forth green grass* (Gen. 1:11). When we, therefore, are unwilling to serve, we wrong the elements.

(Consideration 3.) The third benefit is that he has given angels to watch over us, as in the Epistle to the Hebrews: *Firstly they are all ministering spirits . . .* (1:14).

(Consideration 4.) The fourth is that he has made us in his image, as it is stated in Genesis, and this applies especially to those of the clergy who have a greater knowledge of him, and in proportion a higher obligation to serve him, because a servant who knows the will of his lord and does not do it will be severely chastised.

(Consideration 5.) The fifth is that he has given us an eternal heritage, bestowing upon us hope of it in the present and its reality in the future. Therefore no one need despair as did Cain: *My sin is greater . . .* (Gen. 4:13).

(Confirmation 1.) To the first benefit the martyrs testify, having given themselves to suffer for Christ. (Confirmation 2.) To the second, the people of the early Church, who, having sold everything, laid all that they had at the feet of the apostles. (Confirmation 3.) To the third, Abraham and Lot testify, who, having offered hospitality, ministered to angels and angelic men (Gen. 18:16); as in I Peter: *If anyone ministers, it is as if by the strength which God imparts* (4:11). (Confirmation 4.) To the fourth, the hermits testify who continually contemplate the Lord; as the Apostle said: *I have* *determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified* (I Cor. 2:2). (Confirmation 5.) To the fifth, the men of sanctity are witnesses, who diligently cultivate their eternal heritage; as in Proverbs: *Diligently till thy ground . . .* (24:27).

(Part II) Similarly we, having received these benefits, now ought to make return. First, in that we should give to God, not only our alms and goods, but ourselves; as in Genesis: *The Lord had respect to Abel,* that is, first, *and to his gifts,* afterward (4:4); likewise the Apostle: *I do not seek the things that are yours, but you* (II Cor. 12:14). Thus of those who give themselves in part to the Lord, Hosea says: *Their heart is divided; now they shall perish* (10:2). For even if you give yourself whole to God, you are not worthy of him; as in Tobias (A. V. Tobit): *If I give myself to be a servant, I am not worthy of thy providence* (9:2).

(Consideration 2.) For the second benefit, we ought to make return by expending our worldly wealth for the poor; as in Luke: *Give and it shall be given to you* (6:38). For this reason James says: *Your gold and silver have rusted, and their rust shall bear witness against you, and it shall eat away your flesh* (5:3). Because of this, it is a good thing to give your possessions for the poor. Thus the Apostle: *Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ . . .* (I Cor. 4:1). Otherwise God would require of us the talent entrusted to us and cast us into outer darkness.

(Consideration 3.) For the third we ought to make return by doing service to God and to his own; as in the Gospel: *I was in prison and you came to me; I was sick and you visited me* (Matt. 25:36). But often a man, being a nobleman, is unwilling to visit the sick, saying with the devil in Ezekiel: *I have made myself* (29:3). Let such a one listen to the saying of Job: *I have addressed corruption . . .* (17:14), and *I have been eyes to the blind* (29:15), and likewise to the Lord in the Gospel: *If you have done this to one of the least of these, you have done it unto me* (Matt. 25:40).

(Consideration 4.) For the fourth we should make return, in order to obtain the benefit of the wisdom and knowledge of God. *He who loves God is known by him . . .* (cf. I John 5:2). We ought not, therefore, to be overwhelmed by present things nor by the love of mortal friends. *For if I do not go away* [*the Paraclete will not come to you*] . . . (John 16:7).

(Consideration 5.) In return for the fifth, we should strive toward our eternal heritage, even though Solomon says in contradiction: *A man has nothing more under the sun except that he eats and drinks* (Eccles. 8:15). For all the labor of a man is in God's sight. On this account the Lord said to the idle ones: *You also come into my vineyard* (Matt. 20:4).

(Conclusion) On account of all these things, therefore, we ought to be merciful, leading a life that is worthy of God.

BERTHOLD OF REGENSBURG (RATISBON)

(c. 1220–72)

ROGER BACON, the exacting scholar, and Friar Salimbene of Parma, the colorful raconteur of Franciscan experiences and European foibles, agree that Brother Berthold could preach the Gospel down out of heaven and the people loose from their sins — if anyone could. Whether or not he was able to bring a plow-hand up short, thirty miles away, he brought searching of heart to thousands at a time. Evangelist, prophetic denunciant of both social and personal evils, and deeply affianced friend of the faithful, Berthold was not averse to pilloring feminine apparel or to scrutinizing worldly traffic in the light of spiritual ultimates. The passages here translated are strongly redolent of his vernacular power. Bert.Reg.Pf. I, 146, 285, 478; I, 408, 253, 397, II, 242. Translated excerpts are from *G. G. Coulton. Life in the Middle Ages.* By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers. III, 57–62, 63–66 (Coult.Lif.).

SERMON SELECTIONS ON "TRICKS OF TRADE"

(Note: Various "folk" are admonished.)

The first are ye that work in clothing, silks, or wool or fur, shoes or gloves or girdles. Men can in no wise dispense with you; men must needs have clothing, therefore should ye so serve them as to do your work truly; not to steal half the cloth, or to use other guile, mixing hair with your wool or stretching it out longer, whereby a man thinketh to have gotten good cloth, yet thou hast stretched it to be longer than it should be, and makest a good cloth into useless stuff. Nowadays no man can find a good hat for thy falsehood; the rain will pour down through the brim into his bosom. Even such deceit is there in shoes, in furs, in curriers' work; one man sells an old skin for a new, and how manifold are your deceits no man knoweth so well as thou and thy master the devil. Why should I come here to teach thee frauds? Thou knowest enough thyself.

The second folk are all such as work with iron tools, goldsmiths, penny-smiths, and other smiths, and carpenters or blacksmiths, and all manner of men that smite, and stonemasons and turners, and all such as use handicrafts with iron. Such should all be true and trustworthy in their office, whether they work by the day or the piece, as many carpenters and masons do. When they labour by the day, they should not stand all the more idle that they may multiply the days at their work. If thou labourest by the piece, then thou shouldest not hasten too soon therefrom, that thou mayest be rid of the work as quickly as possible, and that the house may fall down in a year or two; thou shouldest work at it truly, even as it were thine own. Thou smith, thou wilt shoe a steed with a shoe that is naught; and the beast will go perchance scarce a mile thereon when it is already broken, and the horse may go lame, or a man be taken prisoner or lose his life. Thou art a devil and an apostate; thou must go to the apostate angels. They fell not from one Order only, but from all ten Orders; and so fall many thousand from these nine Orders. The tenth it utterly fallen beyond recall; I bar no man from contrition and repentance, but, otherwise, such as beat out the long knives wherewith men slay their fellowmen, such may use deceit or not, may sell dear or cheap as they will, yet for their soul there is no help.

The third are such as are busied with trade; we cannot do without them. They bring from one kingdom to another what is good cheap there, and whatsoever is good cheap beyond the sea they bring to this town, and whatsoever is good cheap here they carry over the sea. Thus some bring us from Hungary, others from France; some on ships, some on waggons; driving beasts or bearing packs. Howsoever that be, they all follow the same office. Thou, trader, shouldst trust God that He will find thee a livelihood with true winnings, for so much hath He promised thee with His divine mouth. Yet now thou swearest so loudly how good thy wares are, and what profit thou givest the buyer thereby; more than ten or thirty times takest thou the names of all the saints in vain — God and all His saints, for wares scarce worth five shillings! That which is worth five shillings thou sellest, maybe, sixpence higher than if thou hadst not been a blasphemer of our Lord, for thou swearest loud and boldly: " I have been already offered far more for these wares ": and that is a lie, and so often as thou swearest by God and His saints, so often hast thou broken one of the Ten Commandments; that is a great mortal sin, whereof thou committest perchance ten or more at one little bargain. Now see how many those sins become ere a year is past, and how many in ten years! And all those sins together thou couldst well have forborne, for many men are so prudent of evil that, the more thou swearest, the less they are willing to buy from thee; and thy worldly profit is small thereby, while all the time thou damnest away thine own salvation; for he goeth oftentimes away without buying, howsoever thou mayest have sworn to him. And if thou wilt buy anything from simple folk, thou turnest all thy mind to see how thou mayest get it from him without money, and weavest many lies before his face; and thou biddest thy partner go to the fair also, and goest then a while away and sayest to thy partner what thou wilt give the man for his wares, and biddest him come and offer less. Then the simple countryfellow is affrighted, and will gladly see thee come back; so thou gettest it untruly from him, and swearest all the while: " Of a truth," thou sayest, " by all the saints, no man will give thee so much for these as I! " yet another would have given more. If thou wouldst keep thyself free from mortal sin in trade, see that thou swear not. Thou shouldst say: " If thou wilt not buy it, perchance another will ": and should thus sell honestly without lie or deceit. Thus should a man keep himself in trade; for many thousand souls are damned thereby, seeing that there is so much fraud and falsehood and blasphemy that no man can tell it. Yet yourselves know best what lies and frauds are busy in your trade!

The fourth are such as sell meat and drink, which no man can disregard. Wherefore it is all the more needful that thou shouldst be true and honest therein; for other deceit dealeth only with earthly goods, but this deceit with a man's body, which many would not give for all the goods in the world. If thou offerest measly or rotten flesh that thou hast kept so long until it be corrupt, then art thou guilty perchance of one man's life, perchance often. Or if thou offerest flesh that was unwholesome before the slaughter, or unripe of age, which thou knowest well and yet givest it for sale, so that folk eat it into their clean souls which are so dear a treasure to Almighty God, then dost thou corrupt the noble treasure which God hath buried in every man; thou art guilty of the blood of these folk. The same say I to him who selleth fish. Thou keepest thy fish captive in water until Friday come, then they are corrupt, and a man eateth his death by them, or some great sickness. So are certain innkeepers and cooks in the town, who keep their sodden flesh too long, whereof a guest eateth and falleth sick thereafter for his life long. So also do certain others betray folk with corrupt wine or mouldy beer, or unsodden mead, or give false measure, or mix water with the wine. Certain others, again, bake rotten corn to bread; whereby a man may lightly eat his own death: and they salt their bread, which is most unwholesome. We read not that salt is so unwholesome and harmful in any other food as in bread: and, the better it is salted, the nearer to great sickness or death.

The fifth folk are such as till the earth for wine or corn. Such should live truly towards their lords and towards their fellows, and among each other; not plough one over the other's landmark, nor trespass nor reap beyond the mark, nor feed their cattle to another's harm, nor work any other deceit, one on the other, nor betray their fellows to the lord. Fie, traitor! untrue man! Where sittest thou before mine eyes, thou Chusi, thou Achithophel? And thou shouldst be true to thy lord; yet thou dost thy service so sparingly and so slothfully and with such constraint! and, when he chideth thee, then dost thou leave him and flee to some other master. Sometimes the lords also are guilty here. Ye lords, ye deal sometimes so ill with your poor folk, and can never tax them too high; ye would fain ever tax them higher and higher. It is far better for you that ye should take small taxes every year, and take these all the more straitly. Ye cannot till the land yourselves, therefore should ye so deal with your folk that they gladly serve you; and it is their duty too to serve you truly and live truly one with the other and sell truly among themselves. — Thou boor, thou bringest to the town a load of wood that is all full of crooked billets beneath; so sellest thou air for wood! and the hay thou layest so cunningly on the waggon that no man can profit thereby; thou art a right false deceiver. Moreover, thou layest fine corn at the top of the sack, and the evil corn beneath, and all thy work is spoiled with deceit and hate and envy.

The sixth folk are all that deal with medicine, and these must take great heed against untruth, for in that office standeth no less at stake than body and soul. He who is no good master of that art, let him in no wise undertake it, or folks' blood will be on his head, the blood of all men to whom he giveth his medicines at a venture. Yet such as are not learned and understand nothing — nay not even to deal with a wound — such men presume to possess and exercise the inward art, and must needs give drinks to folk. Take heed, thou doctor, and keep thyself from this as thou lovest the kingdom of heaven. For thou hast not the right knowledge that a man should have; thou wert as easily hit upon the wrong as upon the right, for even learned masters have enough to do here. — " O, Brother Berthold, four times already have I had all success! " Lo! that was but a blow at a venture. Therefore if thou wilt not let this matter go and study further in the inward art, then the rulers of this world should forbid it thee on pain of curse and banishment. We have murderers enough without thee, to slay honest folk. Deal with thy wounds for the present, and practise the rest until thou be past master. Whether they be children or old folk, thou hast much need of good art before thou canst well cut them for the stone. . . .

Almighty God send in His Grace that these nine Orders be kept safe, for the tenth Order is utterly fallen from us and become apostate. These are buffoons, fiddlers, and timbrelplayers, and all such folk, whatsoever their name be, that sell their honour for money. Such should have made up the tenth Order; but now they are apostate from us through their falsehood. For such a man speaketh to another the best words that he can before his face, and when his back is turned he speaketh of him all evil that he can or may; and blameth full many a man who is upright before God and the world, and praiseth another who liveth to God's harm and the world's. For such men have turned their whole lives only to sins and shame. They blush not for any sin or shame; yea, thou buffoon, whatsoever the devil is ashamed to speak, that speakest thou; and all that the devil may pour into thee thou lettest fall from thy mouth. Alas, that ever Holy Baptism came upon thee, since thou hast denied thy Baptism and thy Christendom! And all that men give to thee they give sinfully, and must answer for it to God at the Last Day. If there be such here, forth with him!

So are some men deceivers and liars like the craftsmen. The shoemaker saith: " See, these are two most excellent soles "; and he hath burned them before the fire, and lieth and cheateth thee of thy money. And the baker floods his dough with yeast, so that thou, who dreamest to have bought bread, thou hast bought mere air for bread. And the huxter pours beer sometimes, or water, into his oil; and the butcher will sell calves' flesh at times, saying: " It is three weeks old ": and it is scarce a week old. . . . Ye fishers, ye must catch fish with manifold devices; and these fish betoken the poor folk; for the fish is a very poor and naked beast; it is ever cold, and liveth ever in the water, and is naked and cold and bare of all graces. So are also the poor folk; they, too, are helpless. Wherefore the devils have set the bait for them that is called untruth, because they are poor and helpless; with no bait could the devil have taken so many of them as with this. Because the fishes are poor and naked, therefore they devour one another in the water; so do also poor folk; because they are helpless, therefore have they divers wiles and invent many deceits. When such a man would sell anything, he doth it untruly, lying and deceiving and stealing. But the poor naked folk that are called menservants and maidservants and that serve your needs, such will steal your salt and your bacon, your meal and your corn. Thou servant, thou stealest eggs and cheese, thou stealest bread; if thou canst not steal a whole loaf thou stealest the fragments and the half loaves and the half joints of flesh! And those too are false to whom thou bringest thy thefts, for if they took it not thou wouldst have left it alone. Thus many a man betrayeth another for his life or his possessions; but none are so false as the countryfolk among each other, who are so untrue that for envy and hatred they can scarce look upon one another. One will drive another's cattle to his harm and damage, and another will buy his fellow-peasant out of his farm, all from untruth.

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SERMON SELECTIONS ON "WOMEN'S DRESS"

I am come here to speak of these words, how you should beware of these snares of the devil, for the holy saint saw so many thereof that he said: "Alas, Lord! is there any who may avoid all these snares?" He saw well that the whole of the world was full of the devil's snares. They go by night to towns and villages in great companies and multitudes and lay their snares and gins of many kinds; for the devils have nought else to do than daily to set more and more of such snares. — "But, Brother Berthold, thou sayest much to us of these devils and of their manifold guiles, and we never see a single devil with our eyes, nor hear we any, nor grasp, nor feel them." — Lo, now! that is even the worst harm that they do thee; for, didst thou see but once a single devil as he is, then wouldst thou surely never commit one sin again; that itself is one of their snares the worst of all that they have, that they deal so stealthily with us. Now see how dead a silence they keep, albeit there are many thousand of them here in this place! Ye devils, ye hear me well enough preaching here, yet ye would not take all the wealth that is under heaven (I except a man's soul) that only one of you should let himself once be seen; for then all your cunning and your snares would avail you no more. Now see, ye young folk, what a deadly snare that is, that no man may ever see a devil! Behold now what silence they keep, though so many are here with us; for if ye saw them but once ye would never sin more, since they are so foul of form that, if we could but see one single devil as he is, all mankind would die of fear. As little as a man may endure the sight of Almighty God with his fleshly eyes for excess of joy, so little may one ever see the devil for fear. And if it were so that a man might see the devil with his bodily eyes and not die of horror, and if the devil were to come out at this moment from that forest yonder, and this town here before us were a burning fiery furnace heated through and through, there would yet be the greatest throng of men pressing into that fiery furnace that ever there was in the world, or ever will be! . . .

The second snare which the devils set so perilously for us Christian folk, they have set specially for women. Women are as well created for the Kingdom of Heaven as men, and they need it also as much as men, and many more of them would come into the Kingdom of Heaven but for this one snare. Fie! ye wicked devils! How many thousand poor women's souls would now be in heaven but for the single snare which ye have laid so cunningly for them! Ye women, ye have bowels of compassion, and ye go to church more readily than men, and ye pray more readily than men, and come to hear preaching and to earn indulgences more readily than men; and many of you would be saved but for his one snare, which is called vain glory and empty honour. In order that ye may compass men's praise ye spend all your labour on your garments — on your veils and your kirtles. Many of you pay as much to the sempstress as the cost of the cloth itself; it must have shields on the shoulders, it must be flounced and tucked all round the hem; it is not enough for you to show your pride in your very buttonholes, but you must also send your feet to hell by special torments, ye trot this way and that way with your fine stitchings; and so many ye make, and with so much pains, that no man may rehearse it all. At the least excuse ye weary yourselves with your garments; all that wherewith ye busy yourselves is nought but vanity. Ye busy yourselves with your veils, ye twitch them hither, ye twitch them thither; ye gild them here and there with gold thread, and spend thereon all your time and trouble. Ye will spend a good six months' work on a single veil, which is sinful great travail, — and all that men may praise thy dress: " Ah, God! How fair! Was ever so fair a garment? " Yea, our Lady was far fairer than thou, yet was she exceeding humble of heart; and St. Margaret, and many other saints. — " How, Brother Berthold! we do it only for the goodman's sake, that he may gaze the less on other women." No, believe me, if thy goodman be a good man indeed he would far rather see thy chaste conversation than thine outward adorning, so that the folk point their fingers at thee and gape: " See, who is she? " or " Whose wife is she? " Or if he be a lewd fellow, then all thy crimple-crispings and christy-crosties and thy gold thread are of no avail; and they help thee only to hell for ever and ever, unless thou come to contrition and true penitence. Every woman's excuse is: " I do it not for vain glory's sake; I do it only for my goodman! " But many husbands are heartily sorry for your dressing; and then more especially when ye leave them no rest. Now ye will have this, now ye will have that; and when thou shouldest be busy in the house with something needful for the goodman, or for thyself, or thy children, or thy guests, then art thou busy instead with thy hair or thy wimple! thou art careful whether thy sleeves sit well, or thy veil, or thy headdress, wherewith thy whole time is filled — the days and the weeks and the whole year long. Now see, ye women, to how little purpose ye lose the Kingdom of Heaven! Believe me, whatsoever thou doest with thy dress, yet in all the world it is nought but a little dust and a bit of cloth. With all the crimple-crispings here and the christy-crosties there, and the gold thread here and there, yet again I say, it is nought but a bit of cloth after all! Only the Jewesses and the parsons' lemans and the lost women who walk outside the town walls — only such should wear these yellow scarves, that they may be known from the rest. Ye men might put an end to this and fight against it doughtily, first with good words, and if they are still obdurate, then ye should step valiantly in. — " Ah, Brother Berthold, yet that is a perilous enemy whom the goodman must always keep in his house! I have oftentimes besought my wife kindly and commanded her straitly, yet would she never forbear. Now therefore, were I to pull one veil from her, I fear lest she should do me all the greater harm behind my back, and go buy another twice as dear." — Lo, now thou shouldst take heart of grace. Thou art a man after all, and bearest a sword, yet thou art easily conquered with a distaff. Take courage, and pluck up heart and tear it from her head, even though four or ten hairs should come away with it, and cast it into the fire! Do thus not thrice or four times only; and presently she will forbear. It is fitting that the man should be the woman's lord and master.

BONAVENTURA

(1221–74)

THIS discerning mystic and illustrious scholastic closely parallels, in the Franciscan order, the distinction of Thomas Aquinas among the Dominicans. He is not so completely reduced to barren outlines in his extant sermons as is his contemporary. But, in the main, his homiletics does scant justice to the devotional warmth and administrative resourcefulness of his creative powers. The first passage, one of the more edifying already in translation, is supplied by Ne.Mpp. 252–56 from the Rome ed. (1588–96), Vol. III. The second, for the first time translated into English from Bon.Op.Or. IX, 349–51, by Miss Dorothy Ann Freeman, is representative both of his more humanizing interests and his sometimes deadly obsession for methodical procedure.

SERMON ON LOW SUNDAY

John 20:22. *Receive ye the Holy Ghost.* O, what a wonderful licence, — *Receive Ye!* O what a wonderful grace that He gave, not gold nor silver, but the Holy Ghost! Now we may notice that Jesus Christ proposed to us in the Gospel four very notable things to be received, namely: the Cross, in the chastisement of our evil natures, His Body in Sacramental Communion, the Holy Ghost in mental unction, the Penny in eternal remuneration.

Of the first: *He that taketh not up his cross and followeth Me* (Matt. 10:38). The Cross is the mortification of the flesh: *they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with its affections and lusts* (Gal. 5:24). He takes up the Cross who accepts a penance, who enters into religion, who determines to pass through the sea of this world into the Holy Land, that is, the Land of the Living: and he receives the remission of all his sins. There are four things which urge us to take up this Cross. The first is the irrefutable example of our Lord Jesus Christ: *If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross* (Matt. 16:24). For it is a glorious thing that the servants should be configured to the likeness of their Lord. The second is invincible help: for the Lord is the helper of them that are signed with the Cross. The Psalmist: *Thou, Lord, hast holpen me and comforted me* (Ps. 86:17; D. 85:17). *Thou hast holpen me* against the evil of sin, *and hast comforted me* against the evil of punishment. Wherefore, when the sign of the Cross appears in a Church, there also has been the anointing with oil, because there ought to be in ourselves, external triumph, and internal unction. Bernard: Many see our Cross, but see not our unction. The third is inviolable privilege. For the privilege of them that have taken the Cross is to be in the special guardianship of the Pope. But this is often violated: it is not so in our Cross: *Slay not the men on whom ye find the sign Tau* (Ezek. 9:6). *From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus* (Gal. 6:17). The fourth is a reward that cannot be lost. Many return from the Holy Land, who, by negligence and evil living, lose their reward. It is not so with those who are here signed: *They that were sealed out of every people stood before the throne* (cf. Rev. 7:9). On this Cross, O Christian soul, thou must hang without intermission, as Christ did, Who would not be taken down from the Cross while He lived! so neither must thou be from thy life of penitence or of religion. Bernard: Let us listen to no one, brethren, neither to man nor to spirit, who would persuade us to come down from the Cross; let us persist in remaining on the Cross, let us die on the Cross, let us be taken down by the hands of others and not by our own, after His example Who said on the Cross, *It is finished* (John 19:30). So do thou also remain to the end on the Cross, and thus at the termination of thy life, when thou art about to give up the ghost, thou mayest say, *It is finished;* I have kept the rule which I vowed, obedience, penitence, the commandments of God, I have kept them all; *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course* (II Tim. 4:7).

Of the second: *Take, eat, This is My Body* (Matt. 26:26). But in what manner we are to receive the Body of Jesus, we read: *And when Joseph had received the Body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth* (27:59). Thou must, therefore, receive from the Altar the Body of Jesus with the same fervour and devotion with which Joseph received it from the Cross. The Altar, by its four corners, sets forth the Cross. Do thou thus wrap our Lord's Body in clean linen. The Gloss: He wraps Jesus in clean linen, who receives Him with a pure mind. Now purity is well set forth by linen, which is in its nature most white, and thereby sets forth how pure we should be in our souls. It is written: *Her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk* (Lam. 4:7). Purity of heart is the milk, by which God and the angels are delighted. A fly or dust shows itself at once in milk; so in a pure conscience, any, the smallest stain, cannot be hid. And, as a fly is quickly cast forth by any one who is drinking milk, so the busy fly of impure thought is cast out from a pure conscience. Much it displeases the devil, much it pleases God and the Angels, when you eject the fly of the devil from the milk of the heart. Bernard: It is the part of demons to inject evil thoughts; it is our part not to consent to them. For, as often as we resist, we conquer the devil, we glorify the Angels, we honour God. It is impossible to say how great is the joy of the Angels when one heart is converted to God: so on the other hand, neither can we express the grief with which demons are then afflicted, they, who are ever lying in ambush to deprive us of our salvation.

Of the third it is thus written: *Receive the Holy Ghost* (John

20:22). The Holy Ghost is here given to the disciples when the doors were shut, as the oil was multiplied in the vessels borrowed from the neighbours when the doors were also shut: note the history. The oil is the grace of the Holy Ghost. In the Psalm: *God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness* (Ps. 45:7; D. 44:8). Vessels which are lifted by the hand, are the virtues and examples for which we look in the saints who now dwell in this world, and which we collect into the house of our soul, as if we borrowed vessels from our neighbours; but those vessels are empty so far as we are concerned, if we imitate not those examples of the saints by the grace of the Holy Ghost. Whereas on the other hand, the virgins that were wise took oil in their lamps, as it is written. The doors of our senses are sight, taste, hearing, touch, smell, and thy mouth is the gate. Unless these doors be cleansed against unlawful thoughts, the oil of grace will not be multiplied in the house of thy soul. Anselm: Enter into the closet of thy mind, and shut the door on all things except the Lord, and that which assists in seeking Him.

Of the fourth: *They likewise received every man a penny* (Matt. 20:9). The penny is eternal life, which is not given save to those who labour in the vineyard, that is in penitence or religion; in which vineyard we must not only labour, but also triumph over that lion the devil, which is prefigured in Samson, *Then Samson came to the vineyard of Timnath, and behold a young lion roared against him* (Judges 14:5). That lion he conquered, and afterwards found honey in his mouth. Honey is the sweetness of the consolation of the Holy Ghost. *My Spirit is sweeter than honey* (Ecclus. 24:27). You see then that the honey of grace is not given save to them that fight, nor is the penny of glory bestowed save on them who labour in the vineyard.

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BE YE MERCIFUL, AS YOUR FATHER IS MERCIFUL — Luke 6:36 (Sermon II for the First Sunday After Pentecost)

(Protheme) *Deal with your servant according to your mercy* (Ps. 119:124; D. 118:124)

The servant who offends his master in many things, if he asks his master to give him justice, asks an ill thing, since he calls down punishment upon himself; but the more he humbles his heart before his master and begs compassion, the sooner is his master moved to mercy. Thus the Psalm says in the text: *Deal mercifully with thy servant,* not justly, for every day we practice iniquities against God. Let us, therefore, beg mercy of him, and he will not deny us, *for he is merciful and exalted above evil* (Joel 2:13). And because we must beg of him the word of his sacred preaching, let us ask it in humility of heart, for the prayers of the humble and mild are always pleasing to him. Let us first implore God. . . .

Be ye merciful . . . Among all the works which Christ has done according to our needs, the most outstanding is his mercy; and the more necessary it is to us, the more worthy it is of blessing and praise; as it is written in the Psalm: *His tender mercy is above all his works* (Ps. 145:9; D. 144:9). Therefore, our Savior Christ, who is the father of mercy and the God of all consolation, summons his disciples and us, with them, to the works of mercy, when he says: *Be ye merciful,* and he offers himself as an example of mercy, when he says: *As your Father is merciful.* First the example is seen, and then the book of examples is written; in the same way the example of mercy, that is, our Savior, ought first to be seen, and afterward the text should be written on the tablets of our hearts.

I. God has pity upon us in four ways: first, as a physician pities the sick; secondly, as a mother, her son; thirdly, as a lord, his slave; fourthly, as a master, his disciple. Thus, God deals with sinners as a physician; with the penitent as a mother; with those who are making progress toward perfection as a lord; and with the perfected as their master.

In the first place, as I say, God takes pity upon us as a physician pities the sick; as in the ninth chapter of Matthew [it is written]: *The work of the physician is not with the sound but with those that are ill* (vs. 12). In two ways, moreover, the physician has compassion on the sick man: first, by visiting him in person; and, secondly, by curing him by his art and wisdom. In a similar way Christ visited us, like the doctor, with his bodily presence, in his first coming, when he became incarnate from the Virgin Mary. As Augustine says: " The great physician came to us, because great disease was everywhere "; and the graver the disease appeared, the more imperative was our need of so great a physician. Similarly, every day he visits us spiritually through his grace, especially when, by the virtue of the Lord's passion, the blood of Christ is shed for us in the blush and the shame of the sin which we have committed. Thus Luke says in the first chapter: *Through the inward parts of the mercy of our God . . .* [*the dayspring from on high hath visited us*] (vs. 78). And note Bernard: " The Lord," he says, " was thinking thoughts of peace, [although] I did not know it, and therefore this the nail piercing thy flesh was made the key opening the door of the heavenly Kingdom, that there might be disclosed to me, *the inward parts of thy mercy* in which thou has visited us, as if arising out of the deep." Behold, in this way has Christ, in the first place, visited us as a physician by his bodily presence.

Secondly, the Lord cures us through his art and wisdom like a wise physician. For that is plainly set forth in the parable about a man who was wounded and *fell among thieves, who robbed him and departed, leaving him half dead* (Luke 10:30 ff.). Here he says that *a certain Samaritan, seeing him* who was wounded, *was moved to mercy, and drawing near to him bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and putting him on his own beast he brought him to an inn, and took care of him.* The Samaritan, the guardian, is Christ, who thus cures the sinner who has been robbed of the grace of God and wounded by mortal sin. First he binds up his wounds; this binding up of the wounds is the curbing of the five senses of the body. The pouring in of wine is the stinging reproof of sin; the infusion of oil is the sweetness of the hope and mercy of God. The wounded man is put upon the beast, when, as helped by the prayers of good men, he obtains partnership in their rewards; he is brought into the inn, when, in his secret conscience, he detests the sight of the foulness and filth of his sin. Finally, the ointment of grace is given to the sick man, and he is cured.

In the second place, the Lord pities those of us sinners who repent of our sins, as a mother pities her own son; as Isaiah says, in the forty-ninth chapter: *As a mother comforts her son . . .* , and in another place, *Can a woman forget her suckling, so that she has no compassion for the son of her womb? And even if she forgets, I shall not forget you* (vss. 13, 15). In two ways the mother shows compassion for her son; she procures what is necessary for him, and she patiently sustains his weakness. God provides what is necessary for us; it is he *who gives sustenance to all flesh* (Ps. 136:25; D. 135:25), who opens his hand and fills all things with his benevolence. He gives in such abundance *que tout va au-dessus.*[1] Also he patiently supports our infirmity. This is plain to see in the story of the prodigal son returning to his father, where we read that *his father was moved with compassion, and running to him fell upon his neck and kissed him* (Luke 15:20). The father could have reproached him for the squandering of his goods and because of his fornication and his filth, but, instead, he met him with tender mercy of heart. Think how a mother, seeing her boy crying, wipes away his tears with her hand, and sometimes weeps with the child for his offenses against his father. Thus God wipes away the tears of his Saints, and he is moved with compassion, when a sinner returns to him through penitence.

In the third place, the Lord takes pity upon us as a master upon his servant; as in the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy: *The Lord shall judge his people and take pity on his servants* (vs. 36). In two ways the master has compassion on his slave: first, discovering him in misdoing he spares him; secondly, when he seeks pardon he dismisses the charge. Thus God sometimes mercifully chastises his elect, and sometimes benignly lightens the guilt of his people at the instance of their prayers. The first point is illustrated at the end of Second Samuel (24:16), when, moved with compassion, God said to the Angel who was smiting his people in Jerusalem: *Hold now thy hand.* God confers a great grace upon a man when he cleanses him through chastisement, either through sickness or any other tribulation of the heart. It is better to be chastened mercifully by God in the present than to be tortured eternally by the devil in the future. That God does not immediately take vengeance on sinners is the work of his mercy; but that he will finally avenge himself will be divine justice. Secondly, how he lightens the people's guilt in response to their prayers, the Apostle sets forth in the fourth chapter of Hebrews: *Let us come with confidence to the throne of his grace, that we may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need* (vs. 16). He says *with confidence* because a man ought to pray confidently and without hesitation. He says *to the throne of grace,* meaning to the Virgin Mary, who, since she is the mother of grace and the mother of mercy, is not able to deny mercy to anyone who devotedly prays to her. As Bernard says: " If anyone has known you to be absent in his necessity, Blessed Virgin, let him then keep silent about your compassion." For it may be as truly said of her as of her Son: *Whoever calls upon me, I shall hear him, for I am gracious and merciful* (Ex. 22:27).

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[1] Here the preacher lapses into the vernacular.

In the fourth place, the Lord has compassion on us as a master upon his disciple; as in the seventeenth chapter of Luke: *The lepers cried out to the Lord Jesus, Master, have pity on us* (vs. 13). In two ways the master takes pity on his disciple: he illuminates his mind and comforts him with his affection. Thus God reveals marvelous visions to those who are in his school, and fills them with ineffable consolation. On the first point, we read in the first chapter of Luke, *He raised up his child* (D. *servant*) *Israel* (vs. 54); the raising up is interpreted as the elevation of the mind to heaven, the child as a pure conscience, and Israel as the man of discernment. And it is fitting that a just man, if he wishes to fit himself for the contemplation of God, should have a pure mind in uplifting himself, and God will then make manifest his light. Secondly, it is written in the first chapter of Second Corinthians: *Blessed be the God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort* (vs. 3), and in the forty-ninth chapter of Isaiah: *The Lord shall comfort his people and take pity on his poor* (vs. 13). The poor are those of the school of Christ who have nothing on earth and await their reward in heaven; as in the sixth chapter of Luke: *Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God* (vs. 20).

II. When we have beheld the mercy of the Savior, we ought to write it in our hearts. We ought, therefore, to take pity upon one another, just as the physician has compassion upon the sick man, physically visiting him and spiritually curing him. On the first point, it is written in the nineteenth chapter of Job how the poor and sick cry out: *Have pity upon me, have pity upon me,* and then, *for the hand of the Lord has been laid upon me* (vs. 21). When a man is in health, he is like a high-spirited horse which cannot be held without a bridle; but when God touches him with some infirmity, then truly he has compassion on him, for he gives him grace to confess and be penitent and thus makes him worthy to be cured. On the second point, we read in the thirty-sixth chapter of Ecclesiasticus: *The beauty of a woman cheereth the countenance of her husband and a man desireth nothing more. If she has a tongue of kindness, mildness, and mercy* [*her husband is not like other men*] (vss. 24–25). The interpretation runs: " No bodily delight can compare with that delight " with which Christ rejoices when we visit the sick, if our tongues show mercy in compassion of heart, and meekness in soft speech, and kindness in urging good work. Such men shall hear the Lord say: *I was sick, and you visited me* (*Matt.* 25:36); therefore, they are placed with the elect on his right hand.

In the second place, we ought to have compassion upon one another as a mother upon her son, and this in two ways: first, by providing necessities to the needy; and, secondly, by patiently supporting their weakness. As in the fourth chapter of Daniel: *Redeem thy sins by almsgiving and thy iniquities by mercy to the poor; perhaps God will pardon thy transgressions* (4:27; D. 4:24). It is most fitting that, if the Lord fills our need, we should similarly lighten another's need. He who needs pity surely ought to pity another. We are full of every sort of wretchedness and therefore we need mercy. For if the works of God's creation were to take away from us their benefits, for example, if the sun took away its light and heat and the water its moisture, we could not live. Therefore, all created things censure unmerciful men, but: *Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy* (Matt. 5:7). On the second point we read in James: *Mercy is exalted above judgment* (2:13). We ought to sustain the weakness of others with love and pity, and not pass judgment on it arrogantly and thoughtlessly, for " false justice is disdainful, but true justice is compassionate."

In the third place, we should have compassion upon one another as a master upon his servant, and this in two ways: by correction, as a precaution against future wrong-doing, and by remission of wrongs with respect to past sin. First, as in the third chapter of Proverbs: *Let not mercy and truth depart from thee; bind them about thy neck and write them in the tablets of thy heart, and thou shalt come into good favor with God and men* (vss. 3–4). Secondly, as it was written to the Ephesians in the fourth chapter: *Be kind to one another, compassionate, forgiving one another, as God in Christ forgave you* (vs. 32).

In the fourth place, we ought to be compassionate to one another as a master to his disciple, and this in two ways: in counsel and in prayer — counseling, that the works of perfection may be accomplished; praying, that the fruit of consolation may follow. First, as in the eighteenth chapter of Ecclesiasticus: *He who has compassion teaches and instructs as a shepherd his sheep* (vs. 13). The good shepherd carries the weak lambs in his arms and lets the strong ones run. Thus the merciful man, especially the prelate of the Church, ought compassionately to teach his subordinates, so that he may increase the fruits of their spirits and in the future receive a hundredfold from God. Secondly, Peter says: *Be ye all of one mind* in prayer, *having compassion, loving brotherhood, be merciful . . .* (I Pet. 3:8). If, thus, in the present we show mercy to one another, in the future we shall obtain the mercy of God.

THOMAS AQUINAS

(c. 1225–74)

THE authenticated prayers and more meditational portions of Thomas' *Summas* prove him a deeply humble and edifying soul as well as the famous intellect so often pictured. Unfortunately, his sermons, for which contemporary tribute was not lacking, have reached us only in skeletal form. No good purpose could be served by omitting them altogether; but little justification exists for the reproduction of more than a few sections here. Thom.Aq.Op.Par. 29:208–09, 274–75, 326; Lat.Serm. XXVI, CXXVIII, LXVII. The translation is that of Thom. Aq.Hom.Ash. according to separately paged divisions: Epiph. and Ante-Lenten Section (II), Hom. VII, 13–14; Trinity (V), Pt. II, Hom. XXXVIII, 70–71; Festival (VI), Hom. XIX, 43–44.

THE MYSTICAL SHIP — No. I (Fourth Sunday After the Epiphany — From the Gospel)

And when He was entered into a ship His disciples followed Him — Matt. 8:23

FOUR[1] things are to be considered in this Gospel. Firstly, the entering of Christ and His disciples into a ship. Secondly, *the great tempest in the sea.* Thirdly, the prayer of His disciples — *Lord save us, we perish.* Fourthly, the obedience of the storm to the command of Christ — *There was a great calm.*

Morally, we are taught also four things. Firstly, to enter into holiness of life. Secondly, that temptations rage after we have entered. Thirdly, in our temptation to cry unto the Lord. Fourthly, to look for a calm according to His will.

I. On the *first* head it is to be noted, (1) That he enters into a ship who follows a holy life — Matt. 9:1, *He entered into a ship . . . and came into His own city,* just as by holiness of life man passes over and comes to his heavenly city. In the following Homily it will be explained why a holy life is likened unto a ship. (2) The disturbance of the sea by the tempest represents the temptations which rise up against holiness — Ecclus. 2:1, *Son, when thou comest to the Service of God stand in justice and in fear, and prepare thy soul for temptation.* (3) The cry of the disciples in the tempest is the prayer of the saints in tribulations and temptations — Ps. 120:1; D. 119:1, *In my distress I cried unto the Lord, and He heard me.* (4) The calm of the tempest is the cessation of temptation — Tob. 3:22, *After a storm Thou makest a calm.* Of these four — Ps. 69:2, 3, 29; D. 68: 3, 4, 30, *I am come into deep waters* in the ship of holiness, behold the first; *The floods overflow me,* behold the second; *I am weary of my crying,* behold the third; *Thy salvation, O God, set me up on high* above my temptations, behold the fourth.

II. On the *second* head it is to be noted that the tempest in the sea arose from the winds. Holy Scripture speaks of four winds when temptation arises, and trouble to the saints. Firstly, from the infestation of demons: this is a cold wind — Ecclus. 43:22, *The cold north wind bloweth, and the water congealeth into crystal.* Secondly, from the perverseness of heretics: this is a blasting wind — Gen. 41:6, 7, *Seven thin ears and blasted with the east wind sprung up after them,* and *devoured the seven rank and full ears.* Thirdly, from the cruelty of tyrants: this is a vehement wind — Job 1:19, *Behold there came a great wind from the wilderness.* Fourthly, from the malignity of false Christians: this is a burning wind — Eccles. 11:4, *He that observeth the wind shall not sow.* Of these four, Dan. 7:2 — *The four winds of heaven strove upon the great sea.*

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[1] The fourth head is omitted.

III. On the *third* head it is to be noted that in the prayer of the Apostles there were three things which moved the Lord to help them. Firstly, because they besought Him instantly, *they awoke Him.* Secondly, they asked humbly, *Lord.* Thirdly, because they prayed for a useful thing, *Save us.* Of (1), Rom. 12:12, *Continuing instant in prayer;* of (2), Luke 18:13, 14, *The prayer of the humble publican penetrated Heaven itself;* of (3), John 16:24, *Ask and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full.* Of these three, Matt. 7:7 — *Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. Ask* humbly, and ye shall receive; *seek* what is profitable, and *ye shall find; knock* continually, and the Kingdom of Heaven shall be opened unto you. Unto which Kingdom may we be brought.

[43]

THE HEAVENLY CITY (Nineteenth Sunday After Trinity — From the Gospel)

And He entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into His own city. And, behold, they brought to Him a man sick of the palsy, lying on a bed: and Jesus seeing their faith said unto the sick of the palsy; Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee — Matt. 9:1, 2

ALLEGORICALLY this city, *His own city,* is a heavenly city. *Glorious things are spoken of thee, O City of God,* Ps. 87:3; D. 86:3. To this city he comes who *enters into a ship, i.e.,* a holy life; and Jesus, passing beyond the sea of this life, *entered into a ship, and passed over.* Morally, this ship signifies holiness of life for three reasons. Firstly, because of its material. Secondly, because of its form. Thirdly, by reason of its end. Everybody ought to hasten to this city for three reasons. Firstly, because of its security. Secondly, because of its pleasantness. Thirdly, because of its abundance.

I. On the *first* head it is to be noted, that the security of the heavenly city flows from three causes. (1) Because it is the most solid city, being strengthened by the firmest columns: *Blessed be the Lord; for He hath shewed me His marvellous kindness in a strong city,* Ps. 31:21; D. 30:22. (2) Because there is no wicked there who disturbs its security and peace: *Oh, Lord, when Thou awakest Thou shalt despise their image,* Ps. 73:20; D. 72:20. (3) Because it is established for eternity: *As we have heard, so have we seen in the City of the Lord of Hosts, in the City of our God; God will establish it for ever,* Ps. 48:8; D. 47:9. *For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God,* Heb. 11:10.

II. On the *second* head it is to be noted, that the pleasantness of the city arises from three causes. (1) Because it is decorated with the fairest walls: *She hath sent forth her maidens,* Prov. 9:3; *i.e.*, the elected, infirm, and despised preachers, that they might call by their word and example faithful people to her citadel, and might gather together to the walls of charity, to the heavenly high places of the celestial country. (2) Because it is illumined by perpetual light: *There shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun, for the Lord God giveth them light,* Rev. 22:5. (3) Because there will be a wonderful climate without heat and without cold, which will ever be sustained: *Neither shall the sun light on them nor any heat, for the Lamb which is in the midst of the Throne shall feed them and shall lead them unto living fountains of water, and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes,* Rev. 7:16, 17. *We went through fire and through water; but Thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place,* Ps. 66:12; D. 65:12.

III. On the *third* head it is to be noted, that there will be an abundance of all good things in this city, that is of all joys: *Thine eyes shall see Jerusalem, a quiet* [rich, Vulg.] *habitation,* Isa. 33:20. The joys shall flow together from three sources. (1) From the fairness of the Divine vision: *Thine eyes shall see the King in His beauty,* Isa. 33:17. (2) From the fairness and goodness of the angelic society, for angels are its citizens: *Ye are come unto Mount Zion, unto the City* *of the Living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels,* &c., Heb. 12:22, 23. (3) From the continuation of eternal solemnity: *Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities,* Isa. 33:20. They who are in that city celebrate a perpetual feast; they do nought but rest, see, love, praise, sing, which harmonize with the festival. S. Augustine, in his book on the City of God, says, *If it is asked, What is the occupation of this city? we say, that there we shall take rest, and shall see, and shall love, and shall praise, and shall sing. For what else shall be our end unless we come to that kingdom, of which there will be no end.* To which kingdom may Almighty God bring us, &c.

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THE ANGELIC WORK AND CONDITION (Saint Michael and All Angels)

Their Angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven — Matt. 18:10

IN these words three particulars are to be noted concerning the Holy Angels — Firstly, their benignity — *Their Angels.* Secondly, their joyousness — *the face of My Father.* Thirdly, their eternity — *always.*

I. On the *first* head is to be noted the benignity of the Holy Angels.

This is manifest from their being spoken of as our and *their;* for from the first moment that a soul is created an angel is given to it, and surely it is a great thing that so noble a creature should be devoted to the service of sinful man, who is too so often ungrateful. The Angels are said to minister to us with a threefold service — by purifying, by enlightening, and by perfecting us. S. Dionysius says that these three operations are common to all the hierarchies. For firstly we are purified from evils, then we are illuminated in the understanding, and we are perfected in the affections. We are purified by the removal of depravity and unlikeness; we are enlightened by the reception of Divine light; we are perfected by the enkindling Divine love. S. Dionysius describes each of these operations. Of the first, it behoves the purified to be made pure, and to be freed from every effusion of unlikeness. Of the second, it behoves the enlightened to be filled with Divine light, and to be led back by the most chaste eyes of the mind to the quietest contemplation of virtue. Of the third, it behoves the renewed to be partakers of the sacraments of Divine knowledge. Because the Holy Angels do such things for us they are called our angels, and so show their benignity.

II. On the *second* head is to be noted the joyousness of the Holy Angels, who *behold the face of My Father,* which face of God possesses four attributes. It is —

Firstly, an admirable face, on account of the infinity of its majesty. *Thou, my Lord, art very admirable* (Esth. 15:17, D.).

Secondly, a delightful face, on account of the multitude of its graces. *Thy face is full of graces.*

Thirdly, it is loveable for the brightness of its ineffable beauty. S. Augustine says, that so great is the joyousness of the Divine countenance that no one can ever look upon it without love.

Fourthly, it is desirable, on account of the eternity of glory. *Which things the Angels desire to look into* (I Pet. 1:12).

III. On the *third* head the eternity of the Holy Angels is to be noted. *Always* — that is (1) without intermission, (2) without end, and (3) ever joyous. Therefore the Holy Angels, although they are admitted to the exterior offices, never recede from the contemplation of the highest mysteries. Eternity is the possession of life, wholly and for ever.

MEISTER ECKHART

(c. 1260–1328)

ECKHART wrote and taught in scholarly Latin while holding administrative posts in the Order of Preachers. His theological innovations and mystical perorations penetrated the hearts of a receptive populace through his colorful preaching in the German vernacular. The following sermons show his mastery of words and his forthright exhortations in their context of philosophical abstruseness. They suggest, also, the hazardous flight of his mystical imagery across the peaks of Christian doctrine and forbidden speculation. Eck.Pf. II, 220–23; II, 33–38. Translation used by permission from *Meister Eckhart; A Modern Translation,* by Raymond B. Blakney. Harper & Brothers, Publishers. Pp. 129–32. 156–60 (Eck.Tr.Bl.).

[45]

THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS AT HAND (Luke 21:31)

Our beloved Lord says that the Kingdom of God is at hand. Indeed, the Kingdom of God is within us; and St. Paul says that our salvation is nearer than we think. Now you shall hear how the Kingdom of God is at hand, and to this end we must note what is meant with great care.

If I were a king, and were not aware of the fact, I should not be king. But if I were sure that I was a king and everybody else shared this conviction, and I knew that people everywhere thought so and believed it, then I could be a king and all the wealth of the kingdom could be mine. Yet if I lacked even one of these three, I could not be a king at all. Even so, man's blessedness depends on his awareness and recognition of the highest good: God himself.

There is an agent in my soul which is perfectly sensitive to God. I am as sure of this as I am that I am alive: nothing is as near to me as God is. God is nearer to me than I am to myself. My being depends on God's intimate presence. So, too, he is near to a stick or a stone but they do not know it. If the stick knew God and recognized how near he is, as the holy angels know such things, the stick would be as blessed as the angels. For that reason, a person may be more blessed than a stick, in that he recognizes God and knows how near he is. And the more he knows it, the more blessed he is; the less he knows it, the less his blessing. Man is not blessed because God is in him and so near that he *has* God — but in that he is aware of how near God is, and knowing God, he loves him.

When I think about the Kingdom of God, I am struck dumb by its grandeur; for the Kingdom of God is God himself with all his fullness. The Kingdom of God is no small thing: all the worlds one could imagine God creating would still not be as the Kingdom of God. When the Kingdom appears to the soul and it is recognized, there is no further need for preaching or instruction: it is learnéd enough and has at once secured eternal life. To know and see how near God's Kingdom is, is to say with Jacob: *God is in this place and I did not know it* (Gen. 28:16).

God is equally near to every creature. The wise man says: " God has spread his nets and lines out over all things, so that he may be found in any one of them and recognized by whoever chooses to verify this." One authority says: " To see God aright is to know him alike in everything. To serve God with fear is good; to serve him out of love is better; but to love him while fearing is best of all." It is good to have a peaceful life in rest with God; it is better to bear a life of suffering with patience; but to find rest in a life of suffering is best of all. To walk through the fields and say your prayers, and see God, or to sit in church and recognize him, and to know God better because the place is peaceful: this is due to man's defective nature and not to God. For God is equally near to everything and every place and is equally ready to give himself, so far as in him lies, and therefore a person shall know him aright who knows how to see him the same, under all circumstances.

St. Bernard asks: " Why do my eyes behold the sky and not my feet? It is because my eyes are more like the sky than my feet." If then my soul is to see God, it must be heavenly. How shall the soul be prepared so that it may see God and know him in itself — how near he is? Now listen! Heaven may not receive any alien impress; neither pain nor want, brought from without, may be stamped upon it. Even so, the soul that is to know God must be so firm and steady in God that nothing can penetrate it, neither hope nor fear, neither joy nor sorrow, neither love nor suffering, nor any other thing that can come in it from without.

So, too, heaven is equidistant from earth at all places. Likewise, the soul ought to be equidistant from every earthly thing, so that it is not nearer to one than to the other and behaves the same in love, or suffering, or having, or forbearance; toward whatever it may be, the soul should be as dead, or dispassionate, or superior to it. Heaven is pure and clear and without spot, touching neither time nor space. Corporeal things have no place in it. It is not inside of time; its orbit is compassed with speed beyond belief. The course of heaven is outside time — and yet time comes from its movements. Nothing hinders the soul's knowledge of God as much as time and space, for time and space are fragments, whereas God is one! And therefore, if the soul is to know God, it must know him above time and outside of space; for God is neither this nor that, as are these manifold things. God is One!

If the soul is to see God, it must not look again on any temporal thing, for as long as the soul dwells on time or space or any image of them it may never know God. If the eye is to distinguish colors, it must first be purged of them all. If the soul is to see God, it must have nothing in common with things that are nothings. For to see God is to know that all creatures are as nothing. Compare one creature to another, and it appears to be beautiful and is something; but compare it with God and it is nothing!

Further, I say that if the soul is to know God, it must forget itself and lose [consciousness of] itself, for as long as it is self-aware and self-conscious, it will not see or be conscious of God. But when, for God's sake, it becomes unself-conscious and lets go of everything, it finds itself again in God, for knowing God, it therefore knows itself and everything else from which it has been cut asunder, in the divine perfection. If I am to know the highest good or the eternal goodness, then surely I must know it where it is good in itself and not where its goodness is separate. If I am to know true being, I must know it where it is being itself, and that is in God and not where it is divided among creatures.

The whole divine being is in God alone. The whole of humanity is not in one man, for one man is not the whole of humanity. But in God all humanity is known to the soul, and all things else, in their highest [reality], for in him they are known as beings.

If a person lived in a beautifully decorated home, he would know much more about it than one who never entered it, but who enjoys talking about it. Thus I am as sure as I am that I live and God lives, that if the soul is to know God it must know him above space and time. And such a soul [thus acquainted with God] knows him, and is aware of how near his kingdom is, that is, God with all his fullness. The authorities in the schools ask often how it is possible for the soul to know God. It is not from God's strictness that he requires so much of man, but rather from his kindness that he expects the soul to progress to that point where it may receive much, as he gives so much to it.

No one ought to think that it is hard to attain this, however hard it sounds and however hard it may be at first to cut one's self asunder and be dead to everything. But once you have come in, no life is easier, nor pleasanter, nor lovelier, for God is very anxious at all times to be near to people, and to teach them how to come to him, if they are only willing to follow him. Nobody ever wanted anything as much as God wants to bring people to know him. God is always ready but we are not ready. God is near to us but we are far from him. God is within; we are without. God is at home; we are abroad.

The prophet says: *God leads the righteous through a narrow way out onto a broad street, so that they may come into his wide and open spaces* (Cf. Job 36:16) — which is to say, into the true freedom of the spirit which has become one spirit with God. May God help us all to follow as he leads us to himself. Amen.

[46]

TRUTH IS NOT MERCHANDISE (Matthew 21:12)

We read in the holy Gospel that our Lord went into the temple and drove out all those that bought and sold, and said to the venders of doves: " Get these things out of here! " He gave them clearly to understand that he wanted the temple pure, just as if he had said: " I have a right to this temple and I alone will be in it, to have control of it."

What does that tell us? The temple in which God wants to be master, strong to work his will, is the human soul, which he created and fashioned exactly like himself. We read that the Lord said: *Let us make man in our own image* (Gen. 1:26). And he did it. He made the human soul so much like himself that nothing else in heaven or on earth resembles him so much. That is why God wants the temple to be pure, so pure that nothing shall be in it except he (sic.) himself. And that is the reason he is well pleased with it when it is really prepared for him, and why he takes such comfort there — when he is there alone.

Now let us see who the people were that bought and sold — and who they still are, but understand me correctly, I shall now speak only of the good people. Nevertheless, at this time I shall indicate who the merchants were that bought and sold, whom our Lord struck and drove out of the temple. He is still doing just that to those who buy and sell in it. He will not allow a single one of them to be there. See! The merchants are those who guard against mortal sins, who would like to be good people and do their good deeds to the glory of God, such as fasting, watching, praying and the like — all of which are good — and yet they do these things so that the Lord will give them something they want in exchange, or do something they ardently want to have done.

They are all merchants. That is plain to see. They want to give one thing for another and to trade with our Lord but they will be cheated out of their bargain — for all they ever have or attain is *given* them by God and they do what they do only by means of God, and thus he is obligated to them for nothing. He will give them nothing and do nothing for them that he would not do or give of his own free will anyway. What they are they are because of God, and whatever they have they have from God and not by their own contriving. Therefore God is not in the least obligated to them for their deeds or their gifts. By reason of his grace, he will like to do for them, of his own free will — but certainly not for the sake of any act they perform or offering they bring. For [in these things] they are not giving what is their own and their acts do not come out of themselves. For God himself says: *Without me, ye can do nothing* (John 15:5).

They are very foolish people who want to trade with our Lord and they know little or nothing of the truth. Therefore, God strikes them and drives them out of the temple. Light and darkness cannot exist side by side. God is the truth and a light in himself. When he enters the temple, he drives out ignorance and darkness and reveals himself in light and truth. Then, when the truth is known, the merchants must begone — for truth wants no merchandising!

God does not seek his own. In all his acts, he is innocent and free and acts only out of true love. That is why the person who is united to God acts that way — he, too, will be innocent and free, whatever he does, and will act out of love and without asking why, solely for the glory of God, seeking his own advantage in nothing — for God is at work in him.

And what is more, as long as a man is looking for pay for what he does, or wants to get from God anything that God could or would give, he is like a merchant. If you want to be rid of the commercial spirit, do all you can in the way of good works, solely for the praise of God, and efface yourself as completely as if you did not exist. Whatever you do, you shall not ask anything in return for it and then your efforts will be both spiritual and divine. Then only are the merchants driven out of the temple and God is alone in it — when a person thinks only of God. See! This is how the temple is cleared of merchants: the man who thinks only of God, to revere him, is free and innocent of any mercantilism in his various acts, for he *seeketh not his own.*

Furthermore, as I said, our Lord spoke to the people who trafficked in doves, saying: " Get these all out of here! " Take them away! But in scolding and driving them out, he was really not too severe. Rather, he spoke quite kindly: " Take it all out! " — meaning, perhaps, " this is not so bad in itself, but it does constitute a hindrance to the simple truth." They were all good people, working impersonally for God and not for themselves, but they were working under their own limitations of time and number, antecedent and consequence. In their varied efforts, they are kept from the highest truth, from innocence and freedom such as our Lord Jesus Christ had. He was incessantly refreshed in spirit by his heavenly Father apart from time, and reborn into the perfection of his Father with each eternal moment — each passing Now. His praise to the father-like Highest was gratitude for like dignity.

Everybody who wants to be sensitive to the highest truth must be like this, conscious of neither " before " nor " after," unhindered by their past records, uninfluenced by any idea they ever understood, innocent and free to receive anew with each Now-moment a heavenly gift, and to consecrate them to God in the same light, with thankful praise to our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus the doves are cleared out, that is, the hindrances, the good deeds that smack of selfishness, which are good enough in their way to enable one to get what he wants for himself. But of these our Lord spoke gently, saying: " Take them all out — get rid of them! " He may have meant merely: " No harm done — but they are just some more obstacles."

When the temple is cleared of every hindrance, that is, of strangers and their properties, its appearance is beautiful and it shines so clear and pure above all, and in all God has created, that no one but the uncreated God can be reflected in it. To be sure, nothing is like this temple but the uncreated God himself. Nothing lower than the angels can be compared to it. In some ways, but not in all, the highest angels are comparable to this temple — the aristocratic soul. That they are like the soul at all is due to knowledge and love, but a limit is set for them, beyond which they cannot go. Only the soul may surpass that limit: for let the soul be equated to the highest element in human nature existing within time: a person with his possibility of freedom may rise unspeakably higher than the highest angel, in every Now-moment — moments without number and without specified nature — rising above the angels and all creature minds. Since God alone is free and uncreated, he is like the soul in being free — but not in uncreatedness, for the soul is created.

Comes then the soul into the unclouded light of God. It is transported so far from creaturehood into nothingness that, of its own powers, it can never return to its agents or its former creaturehood. Once there, God shelters the soul's nothingness with his uncreated essence, safeguarding its creaturely existence. The soul has dared to become nothing, and cannot pass from its own being into nothingness and then back again, losing its own identity in the process, except God safeguarded it. This must needs be so.

As I said before, Jesus went into the temple and drove out those that bought and sold and began to say to the others: " Take this all away! " See! I have it in these words: " Jesus went in and began to say: ' Take all this away! ' — and they took it away." Observe, too, that then there was nobody left but Jesus, and being alone, he began to speak in the temple of the soul. Observe this also, for it is certain: if anyone else is speaking in the temple of the soul, Jesus keeps still, as if he were not at home. And he is not at home in the soul where there are strange guests — guests with whom the soul holds conversation. If Jesus is to speak in the soul and be heard, then the soul must be alone and quiet. So he got in, and began to talk. What does Jesus say then?

He says that he is! Then what is he? He is the Father's Word. In this Word, God expresses himself, together with all the divine Being, all that God is, as only he can know it. And he knows it as it is, because he is perfect in knowledge and power. Therefore, he is also perfect in self-expression. When he utters his Word, he expresses himself and everything else in a second Person, to whom he gives his own nature. He speaks, and all intelligent spirits, re-echoing the Word, repeat his idea, just as rays shining from the sun bear the sun in themselves. So each intelligent spirit is a Word in itself; even though it is not like God's Word in all respects, it has received the power to become a likeness of the Word of God, full of grace. And thus the Father has completely expressed his Word, as it really is, with all that is in him.

Since, then, the Father has expressed himself, what does Jesus say in the soul? As I have said, the Father utters the Word and speaks in the Word and not otherwise. But Jesus speaks in the soul. What he says is a revelation of himself and all the Father has said to him, in proportion as one's soul is sensitive to it. He reveals the Father's majesty with unmeasured power. If, in his spirit, one discovers this power in the Son, he will have like power in whatever he does, power for all virtue and purity. Neither joy nor sorrow, no, nor anything God ever created in time, shall be able to disturb this person, for he remains, strengthened by divine power, opposed to which creature things are insignificant and futile.

Once again, Jesus reveals himself in the soul in unmeasured wisdom, which he is. He reveals himself in the wisdom which is God's self-knowledge or his knowledge of his own fatherly power. And that Word, of which we spoke, is also wisdom and welds all those things it touches into unique oneness. When wisdom is joined to the soul, all doubt, error, and darkness fly away and the soul is set in a pure clear light, which is God himself. That is what the prophet says: *Lord, in thy light, we shall see light* (Ps. 36:9; D. 35:10). Thus God is known through God in the soul, and the soul, through this wisdom, comes to know itself; and thence, too, the soul knows the paternal glory in its fruitful procreation, and the real is-ness in its simple unity, in which are no distinctions.

Jesus also reveals himself in unmeasured sweetness and fullness, which flows from the powerhead of the Holy Spirit, overflowing its unsearchable riches and sweetness into hearts which are sensitive to it. And thus, when Jesus does unite with the soul, the soul's tide moves back again into its own, out of itself, over itself, above all things, with grace and power back to its prime origin. Then the outward man is obedient to the inner man until death and he has constant peace in the service of God for all time. That Jesus may also come into us and drive out all hindrances of body and soul, and that we may be one with him, here on earth as in heaven, may God help us all! Amen.

JOHN TAULER

(c. 1294–1361)

THIS German Dominican combined the mystic's devotion to the renunciatory life and the Christian shepherd's responsiveness to the needs of his flock in a preaching ministry of great directness and popular appeal. Less versatile and profound than Meister Eckhart, he reflected much of the Master's influence. The accent on " the inner voice of the eternal Word " and the bold warning against allowing " outward observance " to stultify " inward recollection " are here clearly evidenced in a context of unquestionable Catholic piety. The following selections are taken in their entirety from pp. 428–33, 494–97 of *The Sermons and Conferences of John Tauler of the Order of Preachers* . . . First English Translation . . . by the Very Rev. Walter Elliott of the Paulist Fathers. Published by the Apostolic Mission House, Brookland Station, Washington, D. C., 1910. Reproduced by permission of the Superior General, the Very Rev. James F. Cunningham, C. S. P. Cf. Tau.Pr.Vet. and Tau.Pr.Leh.

GIVING GOD GOOD MEASURE

SYNOPSIS — THIS BEGINS WITH AN ORDINARY GOOD CHRISTIAN LIFE — SINCERELY DONE, IT IS ALL THAT GOD REQUIRES OF MANY SOULS — OTHERS ARE CALLED TO MANY ADDITIONAL WORKS OF RELIGION AND PENANCE AND A HIGHER DEGREE OF VIRTUE — THESE SHALL BE JUDGED BY THEIR INNER FIDELITY RATHER THAN BY THEIR OUTWARD CONFORMITY — NOR DOES THIS MEAN A BARREN INTELLECTUALITY OF RELIGION, BUT DEEPLY-LYING SIMPLICITY OF INTENTION — VARIOUS COMPARISONS — THE SUPREMACY OF LOVING GOD IN A CAREER OF PERFECTION

SECOND SERMON FOR THE FOURTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful. Judge not, and you shall not be judged. Condemn not, and you shall not be condemned. Forgive, and you shall be forgiven. Give, and it shall be given to you; good measure and pressed down and shaken together and running over shall they give into your bosoms. For with the same measure that you shall mete withal, it shall be measured to you again. — Luke 6:36–38

Children, it is a pitiable thing how alien to some men's hearts is the beautiful virtue of mercy. Every man is bound to be merciful to his neighbor in all his needs, and that not only in temporal matters; for he is bound to have a pitiful heart for his moral and spiritual defects. But, alas, everybody strikes at his neighbor with his condemnation. If any misfortune happens him we add the weight of our accusation, attributing the basest motives we can think of. Blessed be God that He does not do the like. What untold misery comes from an evil tongue, which hurries in with its condemnations without a moment's consideration. I beg thee, my dear man, for the sake of thy eternal welfare, to pause awhile, and come to an understanding with thyself, carefully weighing both thy thoughts and thy words about thy neighbor. It is a shameful thing and almost blasphemous, thoughtlessly to sit in judgment on thy neighbor, and to launch against him injurious words, spiritually murdering him in the minds of thy hearers. Hence those words of Christ: *Judge not, that you may not be judged. For with what judgment you judge, you shall be judged; and with what measure you mete, it shall be measured to you again* (Matt. 7:1–2).

And now, children, let us consider the Lord's words: *With the same measure that you shall mete, it shall be measured to you again.* Devout teachers understand four kinds of measures here — good, full, pressed down, and flowing over. The first means a pious Christian life with God's grace, ending in eternal life. The full measure means God's gift to us of a glorified body at the last day. The measure pressed down means the blessed companionship granted us among God's saints and angels in everlasting bliss. And the overflowing measure is our possession of God Himself in perfect happiness and in the fulness of every desire.

Such are God's measures to us. And now let us inquire what are our measures to God, given by that power of loving which we call the will, by which we weigh out all our words and works and life — the will, to whose properties we cannot add nor take away. And let us ever bear in mind that with what measure we mete here in this life, it shall be measured to us again in life eternal.

First, what is our good measure? It is a hearty turning to God, with a sincere purpose to observe God's commandments and those of holy Church; that we hold fast to the true faith; that we devoutly receive the sacraments; that we interiorly detest our sins and totally give them up; that we live a life of penance, trusting securely in God's mercy and grace. Alas! It seems as if nobody at all gives God this good measure nowadays, nor lives in His holy fear. But whosoever does follow this true Christian life will without doubt enter into eternal joy. And it is the indispensable rule of our religion for all and every one. There are men from whom God requires no more; it is their good measure. And it may, therefore, happen that some upright souls who thus conform to God in this life, shall go straight to Heaven, escaping all purgatory. And yet it is the very lowest degree of the divine service.

Other men God invites to a much higher degree; and these may, nevertheless, have their purgatory, because before their death they have not perfectly conformed to the will of God in their case — and their pains shall be great beyond expression. But that being done and over, they will be raised very high above the others in Heaven, for they originally had the courage to undertake a far more spiritual career, although death interrupted their progress in perfection.

And what is our full measure? It refers to those whom God calls to a life of holy observances, many prayers and kneelings, and much fasting, and other such devout practices. They give God a full measure, if they will but cultivate an interior spirit of real fervor together with their outward piety, seeking God within their soul and finding His kingdom there. This life is as different from the other two kinds as running is different from sitting.

Ah, dear children, how happy is the man whose outward piety is no obstacle to his interior progress in perfection — happy, indeed, and holy, for two good things are better than one. If, therefore, thou perceivest that any outward observance hinders thy inward recollection, give up the outward and concentrate thy soul upon the interior life with all thy might. This pleases God better. Do as we priests do in our monasteries at Easter and Pentecost; for then our vocal prayers are greatly shortened, in order that the holy interior spirit of these festivals may be the better enjoyed. Thus do you, when God invites you to the high festival of His inner visitation, so that leaving off some of your external devotions, you may be the more intently engaged with Him in your soul's inmost depths — there He will accomplish His dearest will with you. In such case thou mayest confine thyself to those outward exercises of religion that are required of thee, as, for example, by the rule of thy order, and boldly cut off all the rest — supposing them to impede thy interior recollection. I declare to thee that this interior life is most divine, most sweet, most fruitful of virtue, if thou wilt but hold steadfastly to it. To this end turn to account the best aid thou canst have. And that is to contemplate the blessed life of our Lord Jesus Christ. Study His bitter death and count His blessed wounds streaming with His precious blood. Or meditate even on the eternal Godhead itself and the holy Trinity, God's eternal wisdom, infinite power, and His merciful goodness to thyself and to all mankind in life and in death.

Whichever of these divine subjects arouses most thy pious sentiments, turn inwards and ponder it, full of humility and gratitude, sinking deep into the divine abyss, and there awaiting God's coming. Now this method, if followed faithfully, produces more aptitude for receiving God than all outward devotions whatsoever, for the interior life is far better than the exterior. All exterior virtues draw their worth from the interior life of the soul. A drop of the interior spirit will sanctify a whole cask of external exercises.

But it sometimes happens that men can think deeply of our Lord in their interior soul, but yet are spiritually superficial — like a wide stretch of water of scarcely a finger's depth. Now, the reason is that they are deficient in real humility, and they lack a universal love for their fellowmen. Says St. Augustine: " The blessedness of one's life consists not in the length of time given to pious exercises, nor in doing many good works; but it consists in the greatness of love." Take an example from poor farm laborers. They raise the best of wheat and of wine, but not for their own benefit — they eat only brown bread and drink only water. Such is the case with men who do good works without deep interior dispositions.

Let us now consider the measure that is pressed down and overflowing. This means superabundant charity, drawing into a great heart all good works, all painful trials, all that is good in the whole world, whether done by God's servants or by His enemies. A man of this degree of love is more truly the proprietor of the good works of others than they are themselves — as long as those persons are lacking in such high charity — so strong is the attraction of love. Consider the many recitations of the divine office, the many masses offered, the many sacrifices made for God — the good of all this is more theirs who have this great heart of love than the ones who actually did all these holy things — supposing them not to have this same fulness of divine love. For I assure you that God will not acknowledge any good works of which He is not both the beginning and the end; according to St. Paul: *And if I should distribute all my goods to feed the poor, and if I should deliver my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing* (I Cor. 13:3).

The love of God is a virtue above all virtues, drawing into the bosom of love all the good deeds done by the grace of God in heaven and earth. The evil that is in a man is his own; all the good he has is to be attributed to divine love. As the grain that is poured into a measure is all pressed together and held into one mass by the sides of the measure, so does love press together into unity all the saints and angels in Heaven and all their merits, as well as all the pains suffered on earth for God, — which but for love we should have neglected and lost. Hence the teaching of certain holy commentators of Scripture: " In everlasting life so deep a love shall the elect have for one another, that if one sees another gifted with greater joy and higher contemplation than himself, this will be to him as much happiness as if he himself had merited it and were now enjoying it."

In proportion to one's share of this overflowing love in this life, so shall be his enjoyment of it in the life to come. Hence it is that the evil one hates these men. And he tempts such a one by insinuating a sense of self-righteousness, and by inducing dislike for his neighbor. The devil leads him to sit in judgment on his neighbor's conduct, to rate his good works and his devotions as hypocritical. If he consents to this uncharity, he has fallen from his holy state of love. He condemns others right and left, and his tongue shoots out poisoned arrows that wound the souls of men unto eternal death. And by the same stroke of false and rash judgment, thou hast stripped thyself of all the merits and virtues thou hadst gathered by thy overflowing measure of love. Thou art now distracted and distressed, peace has fled away from thy soul, and thou art come into a very dangerous state. O, I counsel thee in all fidelity, that thou guard thy tongue most vigilantly, if thou wouldst continue to be called and to be a friend of God.

It often happens that the evil spirit will cause thee to dislike a good pious Christian, and if thou yieldest to this and speakest it out, then God withdraws from thee thy share of that man's graces in the practice of virtue, as well as thy part in the enjoyment of His own holy love. As the prophet spoke of the oil of consecration flowing down from the head of Aaron even upon his beard, so does God's love in a holy man's soul flow out upon all who love Him — it is the overflowing of God's love and all the virtues that belong to it. Whosoever shuts out any one from the spirit of universal love, is himself deprived of his own share of God's love. See to it carefully, dear children, that you cling fast to this divine virtue; hold all mankind in good favor; be sure to avoid contention; profane not that temple of God that every man is, a temple consecrated by the Supreme Pope and Father of Christendom, namely, God; take care lest you fall under the ban of the eternal God.

Alas, that our poor human nature should be so turned against true brotherly love. If one happens to see his neighbor fall into mortal sin, he lets him lie there and perhaps says the worst things about him. Look carefully to your own faults. How do you stand before God in reference to love? And learn diligently the fear of God while you are in this life; for beyond this life all is over with you, and you can neither gain nor lose any degree of virtue — tears of blood shed for you (were it possible) by our Blessed Lady and all the saints will then be of no avail. But now God is steadfastly patient; He is ever ready to grant us more than we are ready to ask Him. Meanwhile the love of God is never idle: labor and suffer cheerfully for His sake, and the superabundant fulness of the measure will be given thee, so full and rich and abundant and sweet, that it will spread everywhere over thy life and fill every corner of thy soul.

And now God comes and touches with His finger the well-filled vessel of his graces, and immediately it overflows and is poured back again into the divine being out of which all its treasures originally came. The soul now is united to God without intermediary and loses itself in Him — will, knowledge, love all overflow into God and are lost in Him and made one with Him. The eternal God loves Himself in this soul, all of whose works are done by Him. But this flow and overflow of God into the soul cannot be limited to itself alone, which most longingly petitions our Lord, and says: Ah, dear Lord, have mercy on all mankind, and forgive them their sins; and especially have pity on all those who once did good deeds and then fell away from Thy grace; give them, beloved Lord, the crumbs that fall from Thy table; convert them from their sinful ways and save them through the fires of purgatory; give them the well-filled measure of Thy grace, that by Thy merits they may be saved.

These elect souls thus turn back again into God's bosom all their gifts whatsoever, their own selves included, and all created things. They embrace within their souls all that happens in holy Church everywhere in the world, offering all up in a happy, humble and self-denying spirit to the eternal heavenly Father, for themselves and for all men whether bad or good. Their love bars out nobody still living in this time of grace, for they constantly join themselves in spirit to the whole human race. And if we in our days did not have among us men of this godlike character, our lot would be an evil one indeed. Therefore let us pray the merciful God that we may be granted this overflowing measure of His love. *Amen.*

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SPIRITUAL DEAFNESS

SYNOPSIS — IN WHAT DEGREE SATAN IS RESPONSIBLE FOR OUR DULLNESS OF SPIRIT — THE UNRESPONSIVENESS TO GOD THAT AFFLICTS WORDLINGS; AND EVEN HURTS SPIRITUAL PERSONS — ST. GREGORY'S REMARKABLE TEACHING ON THIS POINT — THANKSGIVING IS A SIGN OF ATTENTIVENESS TO DIVINE CALLS — GOD'S INWARD WORD IN RELATION TO THE SEVEN GIFTS OF THE HOLY GHOST

SECOND SERMON FOR THE TWELFTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

And they bring to Him one deaf and dumb; and they besought Him that He would lay His hand upon him. And taking him from the multitude apart, He put His fingers into his ears, and spitting, He touched his tongue. And looking up to heaven, He groaned, and said to him: Ephpheta, which is, Be thou opened. And immediately his ears were opened and the string of his tongue was loosed, and he spoke right. . . . He hath done all things well; He hath made both the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak. — Mark 7:32–37

We are to inquire to-day into man's spiritual deafness. Since our first parents lent a willing ear to the voice of Satan, we are all deaf to the voice of the eternal Word of God within our souls. And yet we know full well that this divine Word is indescribably close to our souls, closer than our own thoughts, or our very nature to our conscious existence. Within our inmost souls dwells that divine Word, and He addresses us without ceasing. Man hears Him not, for he is afflicted with great deafness. Nor is this a blameless state of deafness, for we are like one to whom something is spoken, and who stops his ears lest he shall hear what it is. We are worse; we have done this so much that at last we have lost knowledge of ourselves, and are become dumb, that is to say, wholly stupid. Ask a worldly man about his interior life, and he is dumb — he knows not if there be any such a life. And the cause of it is that the enemy has crept into that soul, which has hearkened to him, and thus has become deaf and dumb.

Now how does Satan insinuate himself into the soul? Thou shalt detect him in all blameworthy conduct; his guidance is in all the deceit of this world, all inordinate love of created things, such as honors and riches, relatives and friends, and also self love in all its forms. Under cover of any of these does he insinuate himself into thy soul, for he is ever on the watch to take advantage of thy inclination to evil. Sometimes he urges thee to shun a certain pain that thou shouldst manfully bear; again, to seek forbidden joys, whispering inwardly in thy ear, showing pictures before the eyes of thy soul, all that thou mayst shut eyes and ears and soul to the eternal Word. If we but instantly turn away from the enemy's allurements, his temptations are easily overcome. If, on the contrary, one dallies with the tempter, gazes upon his pictures, listens to his suggestions, then is he nigh to destruction; the temptation is grown very heavy. Resist instantly, turn from him instantly, and thou art close to a victory. Soon thy deafness shall be cured, and thou shalt hear the inner voice of the eternal Word.

This deafness afflicts not only people living in the world but also those called to a spiritual life, but who permit their souls to be occupied by love and enjoyment of created things. This is well known to the devil, who tells them things calculated to gratify their inclinations. Some are made deaf by their infatuation for their self-chosen devotional customs and outward observances, which link them strongly to creatures in a spirit of proprietorship. The clatter of all this hinders the soul from hearing the inner voice of the eternal Word. We know well, of course, that we must have approved spiritual exercises and follow them earnestly; and yet without a feeling of proprietorship. Such are devout prayers to God as well as holy meditation, by means of which our sluggish nature is aroused; we are heartened to our work, and we are drawn inward to the Spirit; but never with an obstinate sense of ownership, and always looking inward to God in the depths of our souls. We should not imitate some men, who persist to their very deaths in certain external pious practices and use them in a wholly externized spirit, never seeking to go beyond this. If God wishes to speak to them, the ears of their souls are always preoccupied by other voices. Children, there are so many cases of this sort of spiritual deafness, that at the end of all things we shall be amazed at the revelation of it.

Now God's Word is never spoken in any man's ears of whom it may not be said *If any one love Me, he will keep My word* (John 14:23). St. Gregory explains this: " Wouldst thou know if thou lovest God? Take note of thy conduct when thou art tried. What dost thou do when pain comes on thee, or contradiction, or any other distress from round about thee? And how dost thou bear thyself in time of interior distress, when thy mental anguish is so sharp that thou knowest not whither to turn for relief? What is thy bearing in sudden storms of adversity; when beset with difficulties all unforeseen? If thou shalt rest quiet in these visitations, thy soul resting in peace, without any outburst of impatience, with no fault of word or act or even motion, then without doubt thou lovest God truly." On the heart that truly loves, neither outward pain nor pleasure can make any impression. One may give to thee, one may take from thee, if only thy Beloved abide with thee, it is all one to thee, and thou restest in interior peace. Thy outward man weeps — that thou canst not help; the inner man rests content with God's holy will. But if, alas, thou canst not stand this test, then art thou deaf — the divine Word will not be heard by thee.

Another test: art thou full of thanksgiving to God for the manifold favors He has conferred on thee, and on all mankind, and on all creatures in earth and heaven and never ceases to confer? And art thou especially thankful for the unspeakable gift of His Son's holy humanity? Again, thy universal spiritual exercise should be sincere love of all mankind, not only the members of thy own community, but all priests and monks and nuns and sisters, and all humanity besides, of whatever state or condition; and this love should be active, and by no means confined in practice to thy own community, as far as lies in thy power. This universal love is of inestimable benefit; for whosoever are real enlightened friends of God, their hearts are melted with affection for all men living and dead. Had we no such lovers of mankind among us, our lot would be evil indeed. Furthermore, thou shouldst also show thy love by outward works, by making gifts, by speaking words of comfort and counsel, in so far as thy own real necessities will permit. And if thou art unable to give outward help, at least excite thy heart to say in all truth, that thou wouldst do so if it were within thy power. Here then are thy plain signs for true love, and they will show that thy heart is not deaf.

And now comes our Lord to a man deaf and dumb, and He spiritually putteth His finger in his ears, and anoints his tongue with His holy spittal, and immediately the man's soul can hear and can speak. O children, wonderful words might be said of this act of our Lord; we content ourselves with naming the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, which thus enter the soul and are granted when it hearkens to God in very truth.

First is the spirit of fear, which is given us that we may renounce all self-will, all self-conceit. It teaches us to fly from every evil thing. After that is granted the gift of piety, making us tender-hearted, hindering all rash judgment, rendering us yielding and kindly towards all. The third touch of the Lord's finger is the gift of knowledge, giving us an interior lesson of divine experience, and guiding us to know the inner ways of union with God's holy will. The fourth is divine fortitude, by which the soul is so strengthened as to be able easily to suffer all pain for God's sake, and courageously to undertake all heavy tasks in His honor. The fifth is holy counsel, making all who receive it lovable men, and acceptable guides to others. And now come two touches of the divine finger that are deep and strong, namely, understanding and wisdom; but as to these, one can more easily feel the worth of them than he can describe them. May God grant that our ears may thus be opened to His truth, and that we may ever hearken to His eternal Word. *Amen.*

JOHN WYCLIF

(c. 1320–84)

WYCLIF stands out in the Middle Ages both for his emphasis on the primacy of " Goddis Lawe " and his itemized denunciation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The latter he held responsible, together with the later mendicant orders, for the prostitution of Gospel and sacraments and the full-scale exploitation of the faithful. His stress on the vernacular Bible, the responsibility of all Christians to know God's Word, and the charge laid on all the clergy for its preaching are typified below. The first sermon is translated by Dr. Marie Edel from Wyc.Sew.Ar. I, 261–62, 264–66. Succeeding ones are from Wyc.Wr. Brs. 225–27, 218–20, 220–23. Cf. Wyc.Sew.Ar. II, 17–19, 339–41, 342–45.

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SEE, AND WATCH, AND PRAY — Mark 13:33 (Sermon LXXIX)

This gospel sums up briefly the idea aforesaid and tells how men shall watch, and especially bishops. First Christ bids three things to those that are in orders: first, he bids *that we shall see,* and then, that *we shall watch,* and thirdly, that *we shall pray,* to continue the first two. The first is needful for prelates; for just as the sense of sight of all the senses shows a man to be most watchful, so sight of God's law makes a man most watchful unto God. For this law is faith, that man should be most studious in. Christ bids that man should see, not vanities of the world, nor the unstable law of man, for both these sights harm men, but the law of Christ that is the book of life, and God's word, Jesus Christ. And so here we are bidden to aim our first sense at God. Of the second sense David says (Ps. 85:8; D. 84:9) that he will hear what God speaks in him, for he is certain of faith that God speaks peace to his people. And so if bulls [1] command war, to kill men for an unknown reason, either it is not God's command, or the people are the devil's people. Of the third sense Paul says (II Cor. 2:15) that he and his fellows are a sweet savor of Christ unto God, for they follow Christ in living. Of the fourth sense the Psalm (34:8; D. 33:9) says: *Taste ye and understand that the Lord is sweet,* and other, worldly things are bitter; for although they seem sweet at first, the end of them is bitter as wormwood. Of the fifth sense Christ says (Matt. 11:29–30): *Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me* these two lessons, *that I am mild and meek of heart; for my yoke is sweet and soft, and my burden is light* enough, since it draws men upward, and puts not down to hell. And so we should watch well, and rest these five senses in God; for though a man have all faith that God's law teaches wheresoever, unless he watch in charity, all sight of this man is nothing. And, therefore, the second word bids that we shall watch wholly unto God. And since we cannot continue in this unless God continue his grace, therefore, the third word commands that we should pray for this grace. . . .

The reason that Christ gives why we should watch thus is told before by Matthew (24:42), that we never know when the Lord will come. *For ye never know,* says Christ (Mark 13:33–34), *when is the time* to watch; *as a man that went on a pilgrimage left his house, and gave authority to his servants for every work* in his house, *and bade his porter watch well.* This man that went on a pilgrimage is Jesus Christ, both God and man, and he left the goods of his Church in men's hands after him. And so all the goods of this world he has put into men's hands, but especially into prelates' hands; whom he bids to keep his Church, and especially souls, that they should keep and teach them by God's law. Since Christ's Church is men that shall afterward be saved in heaven, and these men have here all this world, and much more these great prelates, these should keep all God's works, and in every way watch in charity. For they should be fishers to God, and open and shut the door of heaven by the keys that God has given, solely for profit to the Church. Thus it seems to many that no man should take prelacy or cure of souls except in great dread lest they prove incapable before God and such men as should be damned, and the sheep should be saved. For in that case, their desire for prelacy does them much harm of soul, especially if they take such cure for gain or worldly worship; for God gives work enough to men, and especially to his priests, to whom he gives power and understanding to govern his Church according to his law; whereto men should take more care, since this is hard and great enough. Thus, Peter and the other apostles took care of Christ's Church, and not by choosing of man and jurisdiction such as it now used.

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[1] Official papal letters.

But it is a fearful thing that priests now keep filth and vanity, and to this is their intent, and to this end they shape laws. For the law that Christ has given, and the choice that he has chosen, would be enough to govern his Church without laws now made. The office of preaching the Gospel, with a few other sacraments, would be service light and sufficient for such priests to keep; and this Peter and Paul did and the other apostles every one. They strove not for man's choice, nor for jurisdiction, for the Church was not yet endowed to take these worldly goods, but to take reward from Christ for good keeping of his Church. And not only have such priests keeping of Christ's Church, but kings and princes of this world, as Isidore bears witness. So each man to whom God gives power and understanding to know his will should, in proportion to his power and understanding, profit Christ's Church; for God will require this strictly of all such men on the Day of Judgment. For God has given these men such power to serve God thus on earth, and to profit their Mother Holy Church, whom they should help. And this bond is strict enough even if men made no other bond, for this binds each man to profit his Mother. What need is there to make new bonds which do more harm than good and which man can neither cut nor loose, unless God order them specially?

And to this end Christ bids men watch, and especially for this reason (Mark 13:35–37): *for they know not when the lord of this house shall come,* at the time of man's death nor at the time of his Last Judgment. Then he shall speak concerning this responsibility most sharply of all. For this responsibility he charges most, since he loves his Church more than any person in it, and he bade all to worship this Mother, both in the old law and in the new. Because God shall come privily to these two judgments at a time unknown to men, therefore he is said to come *in the night.* A night is divided into four hours, *evening and midnight, cockcrow and morning;* and all these hours are unknown. For if we go from our life to our death in the four hours, or from time to the Last Judgment in the four hours . . . , we know never how near or far is the coming of this Lord. And at all times, if we will be saved, we must wake from sin, so that we may not be found at that time in dead sleep. For the trump shall wake us, either to bliss or to pain. And this Lord shall condemn all that he shall then find sleeping; for each man that shall be saved shall be clean at the Day of Judgment. Thus Christ speaks generally, to print this love in all men's hearts: *What I say to you I say to all, — watch ye* (Mark 13:37).

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CHRIST PREACHING AT NAZARETH (Sermon CXXXIII)

And Jesus came to Nazareth, and went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, &c. Luke 4:16

This gospel tells how Christ preached. *Jesus went out in power of the Spirit into Galilee* (Luke 4:14). True men hold as belief, that the Holy Ghost led Jesus withersoever he went, and in what deeds soever he did. *And fame went out through all the land of him; and Christ taught in their synagogues, and was magnified of them all. And Christ came to Nazareth, where he was nourished; and he entered, according to his custom on Saturday, into a synagogue* (vss. 14–16). And hereof Christian men take custom to preach on Sunday; for it comes to us for sabbath instead of Saturday, as Luke saith here. And so should priests follow Christ's example, preaching on the sabbath, that is Sunday.

And Christ rose up to read; and the book of Isaiah the prophet was given him to read. *As Christ turned the book, he found the place where it is written, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; wherefore he anointed me to preach, he sent me to poor men.* And so the Holy Ghost *bade me preach to prisoners forgiveness, and to blind men sight; to lead broken men into remission, to preach the year that the Lord accepteth* (vss. 16–19). This preaching now is all disused and turned to pride and covetousness. For however men may please the people, and win them worship with money, that they preach, and put back the profit of the people's souls. This book was ordained of God to be read in this place; for all things that befell to Christ were ordained to come thus. And so men say that Christ had the office of all ministers in the church.

And Christ praised Isaiah much, and these things read by Christ have better order than we can tell. For the Holy Ghost was on Christ, both in his body and in his soul, since Christ was both God and man, and by his manhood led of God. And therefore this Spirit anointed Christ with God's grace as fully as any man might be anointed. And thus Christ must needs preach to meek men that would take it.

For this is the best deed that man doth here to his brethren. And so Christ preached to prisoners the forgiving of their sins; and to men blind in knowledge, sight to know the will of God; and to lead broken men in forgiveness of their travail. And Christ preached the year of our Lord that was acceptable by himself. For he made the year of jubilee; and the day of giving of mercy and bliss was preached of Christ. And so all these words sound mercy and comfort of Christ, to men that are in prison here, for old sins that they have done.

And when Christ had folded this book he gave it to the minister, and he sat down; and the eyes of all in the synagogue were looking to him. And Christ began to say to them, This day is this writing fulfilled in your eyes (vss. 20–21), on me; for Isaiah said these words as a man that prophesied of Christ. *And all men gave him witness, and all wondered at the words of grace that came forth of his mouth* (vs. 21). Of this deed of Christ men take that it is lawful for to write and afterward to read a sermon, for thus did Christ our Lord and Master; for if men may thus turn the people, what should hinder them to have this manner? Surely travail of the preacher, or the name of having of good understanding should not be the end of preaching, but profit to the souls of the people. And however this end cometh best, is most pleasing to God. And curious preaching of Latin is full far from this end, for many preach themselves, and fail to preach Jesus Christ; and so sermons do less good than they did in meek times.

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PAUL'S PREACHING THE GOSPEL (Sermon XLI)

Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, &c. I Cor. 15:1

In this epistle Paul teaches by many reasons how his gospel is to be praised of true men, for the fruit of bliss that cometh thereof; and the word evengele, or gospel, means good tidings of bliss. And thus not only the four gospels, but the epistles of Paul and of the other apostles are called gospel here and in many other places. And thus men are out of belief that deny that these are gospels. And therefore saith Paul, Here *I make known to you the gospel that I have preached to you; the which ye have received, in which gospel ye stand yet, and by which,* if God will, *ye shall be saved* (vss. 1–2).

And thus may true men see how this gospel is to be praised for many reasons, by the fruit that springeth to men by this gospel. First, by authority of God who spake this. For precious liquor and precious vessel, should be praised of them that take it. This liquor is wisdom of God. And this liquor should be thought of more dear worth than oil of tombs; for it healeth men's souls more than such oil healeth men's bodies. And right taking of this knowledge is another reason to praise it. And since it raiseth up man's soul, and maketh it thus stand in belief, Paul tells us the third reason why men should praise this gospel.

The fourth reason that Paul giveth of the praising of this gospel is, that it is a nigh mean to save men in bliss of heaven. And Paul boasteth not here of this gospel for his person, but by reason of his God, of whom this gospel sprung by grace. And this should move true men to take this gospel and leave fables. And Paul telleth hereafter of this gospel how men should last therein. For else his travail thereabout were idle and without fruit. For the praising of God's word, and holding thereof in man's mind, should be to produce belief in men, and thereby bring forth good works. And Paul saith, Unless this follow, *they have believed here in vain* (I Cor. 15:2). As clerks say, that travail is vain of which cometh not the good end, that men should shape to come thereof by the grace and ordinance of God.

And thus saith Paul, *For what reason should I have preached thus to you, and ye should have holden this lore,* but for coming of this end? *And if this end come not, ye have believed* here *in vain. I betook first to you lore that I have taken of God, that Christ was dead for our sins* (vss. 2–3), after the witness of *holy writ;* and better witness may none be, for then must God witness it. Christ died not for his own sin, as thieves die for their sin; but Christ, our brother, that might not sin, died for sin that others have done. And both righteousness of God and grace, and saving of men, moved Christ to die thus. And not only sin of men, for then Christ had died for nought and idly without cause. I told you more of belief, *how that Christ was after buried, and how he rose on the third day, by the witness of holy writ* (vs. 4). And that this belief was written in the book of life, and men's souls, and also dead bodies.

Paul calls it many scriptures; and Paul tells of six degrees, by which Christ was seen to live after that he was dead. And this faith should be believed in. Paul telleth *that Peter saw him, and after him all the apostles; and after* when Christ went up to heaven, *more than five hundred of men saw him together* (vss. 5–6). For they were warned before hereof, and therefore more came to see this. *And some of them lived to the time of Paul, and some of them were dead* before. *And after was Christ seen of James, and afterward of all the apostles. And at last of all was Christ seen by Paul* (vss. 6–8). And thus Paul, as a child that was born out of time, destroyed the sin of the synagogue; as some children when they are born are the death of the mother. So thus Paul destroyed the synagogue when he came to Christ's church.

Paul saith meekly of himself, *that he is the least of apostles; that he is not worthy* of himself *for to be called an apostle, for he pursued God's church* (vs. 9). Here we should understand that Paul saith truth as he should, since none should tell falsehood for any cause. Paul saith that he is least of apostles in his own counting; for Paul was wonderfully meek; and he tells how he came by grace after others. And the cause of this unworthiness is, that he pursued God's church. And therefore saith Paul after, *By grace of God I am that I am* (vs. 10). And thus he is not worthy even to be called a Christian man. But nevertheless *the grace of God was not idle in St. Paul.* For it moved him to profit to the church, which he had harmed before. And thus men may praise God in the gifts that he hath given them. But think we how Paul travailed for to get worship to God, and let us follow him, inasmuch as Paul thus followed Christ.

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THE MINISTRATION OF THE GOSPEL (Sermon XLII)

And such trust have we through Christ to God-ward; not that we are sufficient of ourselves, &c. II Cor. 3:4–5

Paul telleth of the excellency of the grace of the new law over the grace of the old law, to come lightlier to heaven. And Paul begins thus, *We have such trust by Christ* as the best mean *to God, that we are not sufficient to think aught of ourselves, but our sufficiency is wholly of God* (vss. 4–5). For since man's thinking seems most to be in his power among his works, and yet his thought must come of God, surely more each other work of man. It is known that no creature may do aright, but if God do it first, and help his creature to do it. And since we have a better procurator, in time of grace, to pray to God, than men had in the old law, no wonder if this time be better. And thus should we put off pride, and wholly trust in Jesus Christ. For he that may not think of himself, may do nought of himself; but all our sufficiency is of God, by the means of Jesus Christ. And since Christ is both God and man, he is both Judge and Procurator. And these words are belief, since each power is of God. And so each sufficiency of man must necessarily be given of God. And if thou grudge here again, and say that man doth evil works, and God doth all that a man doth, and so God doth many evils; true men grant concerning God, that each creature of the world, whether it be good or evil, is made of God, Lord of all; but sin which is no creature, but default of man or angel, is not made of our God, since to do it is to fail towards God. But if sin were a creature that might be of itself, then sin must needs be made of God, and man might make that it were sin.

This mediator, *Christ, made apostles* and their vicars *fit servants of the new law* (vs. 6). And this advancement is great, for it is holden a great grace to be a pope or other prelate; but it is a thousand fold more grace to be a minister as Christ hath ordained, for the gain is more, and the service more holy. For since the New Testament is the last law of God, and bringeth men next to heaven; these ministers bring men by grace that God himself giveth, and worketh thus with these ministers. And this is a fit and a high service that priests should have; but if they keep not well this office, none are fouler traitors than they. And great diversity is betwixt them, and priests of the old law; for priests of the old law did figure of the grace that now is done by Christ. And therefore saith Paul here, that priests of the new law work now, *not by letter, but by the Spirit* (vs. 6) that God giveth. And this word men understand thus, that priests in the new law have pleasant service and light, and are not killers of beasts, as were the priests of the old law; but the grace that they figured, is now made of God by his priests. And therefore saith Paul, that priests work now, not by letter, but by Spirit.

And here antichrist's tyrants speak against the new law, and say that literal knowledge of it should never be taken, but spiritual knowledge. And they feign this spiritual knowledge after the wicked will that they have. And thus these four sects are about to destroy literal knowledge of God's law, which should be the first and the most, by which the church should be ruled. And against this knowledge antichrist argues many ways that holy writ is false. And so they say there is another meaning than this literal meaning that thou hast given. And this is a doubtful meaning which I will choose to give. And thus authority of holy writ fails by antichrist. But Paul saith to this intent, that if in the time of grace *the letter* of the old law is taken, and held that it should ever last, as it lasted for that time, it *slayeth* men in a spiritual manner; for it hindereth men of the belief that they are now nearer to bliss than they were in the old law, by the coming of Christ in time of grace. But leave we these heresies, and believe we that many things were commanded the fathers of the old law, as types of things to come in time of grace. And these figures shall we understand spiritually, for else literal understanding will slay man's soul by unbelief.

But *spiritual* understanding *quickens* man's soul by right belief. And if thou wilt know the ground to judge of these understandings, begin at Christian man's belief, and believe that Christ hath now lived here, as it was figured in the old law, and look not for it as yet to come. And so each word of the new law that speaketh of the virtues of Christ, and to charity of his church, should be taken according to the letter. And therefore, as Augustine tells, heretics are condemned who denied the literal meaning for understanding God's law. And thus saith Paul after, *that if the serving of death written by letters in stones was in glory* of Moses, *so that the children of Israel might not look into his face, for the glory of his shining, that was soon* after *done away, how much more the spiritual service* (vss. 7–8) of Christian priests shall be in this time *in glory;* since this glory is more, and increases into bliss. And if men would understand the reason that Paul maketh here, it were needful to know how the face of Moses shined, when he came down out of Sinai, and gave the law written in stones, and so the people durst not look into Moses' face that was shining with light. And thus their spiritual eyes were hid when they looked to this Moses; but he hid his shining face, and the people spake then to him. And since Christ in the new law printed it in his apostles' hearts, much more their spiritual service should be in glory than was Moses. For printing in their souls was better than printing in the stones; and the shining of grace of Christ passed bodily shining in Moses' face. And this service in Moses' law is called serving of death. For many had death of soul, and death of body always followed this serving. But serving in the new law quickens some till they come to bliss. And thus this writing in letters was not equal to writing in men's souls.

Paul afterward makes mention of another knowledge; *that if the service of condemning* of many *was to the glory* of Moses, *much more the service of righteousness* to Christ's children *should be for glory* (vs. 9). As though it were said, Since this hid figure that brought men but far from bliss, was of so much glory and worship to men that had but little belief, much more the law of Christ, and the service that his priests do, should be in more worship and joy, since it is near to the state of bliss.

JEAN GERSON

(1363–1429)

GERSON attained eminence as a scholar and administrator at the University of Paris and strove for Church reform in the era of the Great Schism. His Latin writings on Church unity and the delimitation of papal powers exercised great influence at the Councils of Pisa and Constance. Even more versatile was the range of his sermons, many of them delivered in French; and now being carefully edited after centuries of neglect. He preached a gospel of love and repentance directed intimately to the Christian nurture of kings, popes, educators, peasants, youths, and children. The selections here drawn from his long but moving exposition on the events of Christ's Passion are translated by Mr. Anthony A. Giarraputo from Ger.Adv.Car. 41–43, 71–76.

HE GOES TO GOD — John 13 (Therefore Repent Ye — Mark 1)

He goes to God, by a bitter death,
Jesus, seeing His mother sweet;
So ought we well, by penitence,
Of this sorrow have remembrance.

Surely this is thus: of your sorrow we ought always, truly, to have a good remembrance, O blessed Jesus, only true Savior of all the world. Well ought we to recall the hour when, after that which You have done for us, by one sole word of Your will and out of nothing, You desired to restore and make us over through great labor, through great suffering and through pain, and such pain as never in this world has been equalled: and all for us, O faithful people, for us, I say, miserable creatures and humble subjects; because nothing had availed Him. And He began from His childhood, in poverty, in suffering, in tears, in hunger and thirst, in cold and alien wanderings in Egypt, in vigils, in temptations, in the abuses of the wicked, in deadly persecutions; but on this day of His very dolorous Passion, day of wailing, of miseries and weeping, all the suffering was fulfilled and consummated because:

To God departs, to bitter death,
Jesus, seeing His mother sweet.

O sweet mother, I lift up now the eyes of my thought and look, now at the light of true faith and at the book of the Evangelists, now in the shadow of provable conjecture and pious contemplation, to see what was the departure of your blessed Son, Jesus, when He went to God, by a bitter death. And firstly, before the Holy Thursday, He departed from Bethany where He was staying at the home of Lazarus, and of Martha and Mary Magdalene, and of you also, and made His last journey to Jerusalem, journey to His dolorous death. Alas! Ah me! What was this departure? " Farewell, dear Son," might you have said, O beautiful, sweet mother, " Farewell, my only joy, my only comfort, now I shall no longer see You here." And speaking thus, or peradventure, without words, only with lamentations, with sighing, with sobbing, with languishing plaints, because pain hindered speech, you, beautiful, piteous mother (as I can piously imagine), embraced your Son, the finest among all others, the sweet innocent Lamb, without gall and without bitterness, Who, even though God, blessed in eternity, went away to be killed; you embraced Him tenderly and your tearful face rested on His shoulders or on His chaste head. Then you found strength again, and took leave of God: " Dear Son, Farewell! Alas, my Son, but also my Father and my Lord and my glorious God, all things are in Your power; I implore You, I, your bereft mother, your little Handmaiden, whom You have so much deigned to love and honor, but only through Your grace, with no merit of mine; I supplicate You, have pity on that mother and remain for this feast with us here in Bethany to escape the fury of the Jews who seek to deliver You unto death and have already stoned You at the Temple; You know it. I see the stones (Alas! What a terror!) which they held ready to throw at You, if Your divine power had not delivered You from them. In the same way, You may now escape. In any case, Lord, let not what I will, but what You will, be done; let all be done according to Your command and pleasure. Adieu! This is a departure too hard, a farewell too painful; and plainly, I could not leave You, but wherever You will go, will I go, and to all Your perils I will resign myself."

O devout people, if there be here a compassionate heart, which ever knew what love is, especially the love of a mother for her son, let him think of this pain, when from Bethany to Jerusalem:

To God departs, to bitter death,
Jesus, seeing His mother sweet.

THE SIXTH TEXT (John 18:20–27; Mark 14:66–72)

The High Priest then questioned Jesus concerning His disciples and His teaching. Jesus answered him: " I have spoken openly to all people; I have always preached in the synagogue and in the Temple where all come together and have said nothing in secret; what do you question me about? Question them who have heard those things which I have pronounced." When He had said these things, an assistant of the priests gave Jesus a blow, saying: " Dost answer thus the High Priest? " Jesus answered him: " If I have spoken wrongly, give testimony of the wrong; and if truly, wherefore dost thou strike me? "

And Annas sent Him, bound, to Caiphas, the High Priest. And Simon Peter was in the courtyard without, standing and warming himself. And again another maidservant saw him and said to those who were in the vicinity: " And this one was with Jesus of Nazareth." Then those who were there approached and said to Peter: " Verily art thou one of them for thine accent doth betray thee." And a second time, he denied upon oath: " I never knew this man."

And after a little while, about the space of a half hour, said one of the servants of the High Priest, the cousin of him whose ear Peter had cut off: " Verily, this one was with Him, because he is from Galilee; and did I not see thee myself in the garden with Him? " Then he began to wax angry and curse and to swear, saying: " This man of whom thou speakest, I never knew." And immediately, the cock crew. Then our Lord turned around and looked at Peter, and Peter was reminded of the word of our Lord, which our Lord had spoken to him: " Even as the cock crows thrice, thou wilt deny me on this day." And Peter went and wept bitterly.

EXPOSITION

Devout people, you have listened to the presentation of sweet Jesus to Annas, who is in the place of Caiphas: and those two held the office of High Priest, one after the other, for years and with revenues, against the ordinance of the Law. Yet Annas is here called the High Priest; from such Priests, such a judgment! You heard, on the other hand, the reasonable answer of sweet Jesus, how He had spoken publicly and held Himself so firm concerning His good and truthful preaching, that He called even His accusers and adversaries as witnesses. True it is that He had preached and explained privately several parables to His disciples, but these were thoroughly in keeping with His public teachings and to the end that everything might be afterwards made public and preached. By that, we are taught to reject all the teaching which is not presented in public, especially touching religion.

But it seems to me that at that time there held sway at the court of the High Priests, Flattery, false and feigned, which served only but to gratify the greatest, be it wrong, be it contrary, be it for good or for evil. I see it in this varlet here, who comes forward and strikes Jesus. Alas! What an insolence for such a fellow, I say, to strike sweet Jesus on the cheek, saying: " How now! Dost answer thus the High Priest? " At that time, devout people, Flattery persecuted shamefully the person of Him Who is Truth itself, and since then, has not ceased, in many places, from doing likewise to those who wish to maintain the truth, especially before lords and courtiers, and often, before the bourgeois.

What ought the Lord and the Creator of all the world to do here? Ought He to suffer such an insult without being avenged or appeased? Should not the earth open up, and should not fire fall from the heavens to destroy this iniquitous varlet? Or, it may seem to some that our Lord ought here to practice His teaching and confirm it by fact; that is to say, that He ought to turn the other cheek to receive another blow. Jesus held to the middle path; He deigned, by a sweet and kindly response, to demonstrate to this varlet his guilt, not by using force, but rather by exercising clemency. He used wisdom also, in so far as He had given an understanding of His counsel and His teaching, now set forth. He did not expect that were one to turn his cheek as a Christian, he should literally offer the other, also. This would often be from a kind of pride or feigned patience. But He meant that we should be readily willing to suffer again, as much or more, if the case required it. It seems that sweet Jesus acted thus, because He afterward yielded up to this sinner, not only one cheek, but His whole body unto death. It is often expedient and necessary to reprove and correct evil-doers, as much for their own salvation as for the public weal.

Take note here, O impatient heart, heart gross and sated, which canst not nor dost desire to suffer one hard word without becoming angry and making thy countenance like to that of a madman. Thou dost curse, swear, deny, threaten, or strike; thou dost break or cast aside that which thou holdest or that which thou dost encounter, and thou still blamest God, saying that thou hast not deserved it; and dost not wait until He may avenge thee as thy judge, but rather dost thou constitute thyself judge and party of thine own cause. Angrily thou thinkest of vengeance, either by insults or by outrageous deeds, and repentest thyself, at the same time, of that which thou didst not say or do; or glorifiest thyself, in thy vengeance, as in a goodly vassalage. And thou seest here the King of Kings, the most innocent of all, Who took such an insult, indeed, and from such a man, in such a place, so publicly, on His glorious face on which the angels desire to look, and which thoù lovest so devotedly and hast chastely kissed so many times, O Mother and Virgin, honorable and precious.

Notwithstanding, He is content to give proof of His sayings and to prove false this insulting action by His decorous manner. However, nothing was gained by this mild and reasonable answer which our Lord had given as well to Annas as to his servant, to induce Annas not to send Him, bound, to Caiphas, as if already worthy of death.

> To God departs, by bitter death,
> Jesus here, without His mother sweet;
> Ought we well, through penitence,
> Of this sorrow have remembrance.

For, if the manner of sending Him was severe enough and shameful enough the first time, still more severe was it this second time. And I could say how, but I hear Saint Peter who denies God two more times, and worse the second than the first time; and worse the third than the second, because a sin which is not amended straightway leads to another. Pardon me, I implore You, Lord, God Almighty, all wise and all just, pardon me if my foolish and weak frailty and stupid ignorance dare to ask how and why Your just Providence suffered that Your apostle, Saint Peter, whom You have since loved and honored so much in this world, and still honor each and every day and eternally in glory, and who since died for You, how, I say, can Your wise Providence suffer that he should deny You in such a way, so unjustly and so shamefully, forfeiting Your love by casting himself out of Your company in favor of the company of the enemy, and by receiving damnation, according to justice? " I repent me, Lord " is not reason enough for You to speak by Yourself, with no intercession, to such a one, a nothing, as I am. It is enough and ought to be enough for me that through the Holy Doctors, inspired and instructed by You, and by the Holy Scripture, I should know somewhat the causes of this sufferance, which are three besides those I have touched upon previously. Never would You suffer evil to come were it not for another good to replace it.

One reason was to give us an example and hope of obtaining pardon if we wish to plea and repent, however much we have done wrong before the Divine Majesty. Therefore, whosoever hears and considers how Saint Peter plainly and often denies Jesus Christ, ought not at all to stop here: let him see, besides, the manner of his correction and repentance. The cock crows, Jesus looks at Peter, Peter goes out and weeps bitterly, and throws himself, according to the Doctors, into a ditch or a cave which is called *gallicantus*, cock's crow, because after this, he does not dare to compare himself with the other disciples in your presence, beautiful, very sweet Mistress, until the resurrection.

For our instruction, I say that the cock crows for us each time that a good lesson or admonition is given us, but the crowing does not suffice at all if the look of Jesus is not there. This look is His holy and virtuous inspiration in the heart of the sinner, which opens it and disposes it to grieve, to plead, and to repent. Even the corporeal look of Jesus Christ from without would not suffice, if God were not to work upon it from within. This was evident in the case of Judas, whom Jesus not only looked upon, but kissed, and nothing came of it. The true penitent, after this look, withdraws himself from every evil occasion for sinning, a thing which those do not do who cling always to their false merchandising, or usuries, or forbidden company.

And since the sin is great and bitter, one ought to weep bitterly, according to the example of Saint Peter who, the whole time of his life afterwards, wept when cocks crew; and if thou canst not weep with eyes of flesh, weep at least within thy heart, reproaching thyself that thou canst not weep with external eyes.

Of the other two causes, one concerned the humility of Saint Peter himself: God is accustomed to base the edifice of virtue on profound humility, such a marvelous virtue is humility. In order to establish it better, God allows virtue to falter for a time. Take notice of that woman who had not desired two such sons as Saint John and Saint James . . . and within a year, she had two others. The second cause was to humble Saint Peter before his subjects in order that he might be more inclined to pardon in the spirit of mildness. He who judges, himself never having faltered, is easily too severe in punishing others. " Never," says he, " would I have done thus; never did

I commit such and such a misdeed, so ugly and so horrible." And the wicked prideful ones do not see that often they do worse, if but in such a foolish and presumptuous self-esteem, as if by their own virtues and no special grace of God, they had escaped any sin whatsoever. Such would reserve to themselves the mercy of God, even as they keep it from others. Not that justice and correction must not be carried out, but it is always necessary that compassion be present, according to the example of the piteous mother or of the merciful physician who beat the children and bind those who are sick or out of their senses; and these suffer their injuries and beatings, for the time, not on account of wrath, but compassion.

Take a lesson from this as to how a great public sinner, in the past, was able to be a preacher of truth and good (Christian) life. But this had to come afterwards and with penitence, bitter and public; otherwise it could not have been possible. You see this in Saint Peter who sinned before, and afterwards preached and governed the Church; but this also was after penitence.

And if this be so, O Saint Peter, glorious Pastor of Holy Church and Gatekeeper of Heaven, if, in fact, this be so, yea verily, in order to have compassion on your little children and subjects, God has suffered that you should feel in yourself what our human frailty is, inclined to all evils and sins. We supplicate you and pray urgently, by that mercy which God showed to you when He deigned to look upon and convert you, that you may please to obtain from Him such a sweet and virtuous look on all of us here; so that with the sound of preaching you, by your intercession, should cause the gaze of our Lord, Jesus Christ, to soften, and turn aside, and convert our hard hearts, our forgetful hearts, to Him and to contrition and repentance, bitter, sufficient, and complete.

(PRAYER)

And You, sweet Jesus, true Savior of all the world, look upon Your little serfs and subjects, whatever their age and sex may be; look at them now with that look with which You looked on Saint Peter, and let it be that always they may have, through penitence, their sins in remembrance.

BERNARDINE OF SIENA

(1380–1444)

MISSIONARY, reformer, and preacher extraordinary, Bernardine, the Franciscan, imparted to his vernacular sermons a sensitive awareness of the human scene and a driving spiritual power not often surpassed. Preserved only through the devotion and shorthand skill of an auditor, these popular discourses treat all manner of subjects such as Church attendance, civic obligation, business ethics, and communal responsibility for maintaining a university. The following selections evidence a lively concern for soul salvation and a directness of approach sometimes quite startling. The translation is that of Ber.-Sien.Rob. 5–9, 109–18, 194–203. Cf. Ber.Siena Ban.

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TREATS OF THE PREACHER AND THE LISTENER, AND OF THE PART THAT BELONGETH TO EACH (Sermon II. To the People)

1. O how many of you here present this morning will say: I knew not what I did, I thought I did well while rather I was doing evil; and remembering this sermon they will say to themselves: O now am I enlightened as to what I should do, addressing these words to God: *Verbum tuum lucerna mea est Thy word is my enlightenment* (Ps. 119:105; D. 118:105). And when thou art about to make some contract in thy business, thou wilt pause first to think, saying: what said Friar Bernardine of such matters? He told me, in such matters you must do thus or thus; that is evil, that is not commendable, but this is good, and this I wish to do. And in thiswise it will befall thee merely because of the words which thou hast heard preached to thee. But tell me: what would become of this world, I mean of the Christian faith, if there were no preaching? Within a very little our faith would have perished, for we should believe nothing of that which we now believe. And because of this Holy Church hath ordered that every Sunday there shall be preaching, — much or little, but some preaching. And she hath ordered thee to go to hear Mass, and if of these two duties thou canst perform but one, that is either hear Mass or hear the preaching, thou shouldst rather lose Mass and hear the preaching; since the reason for this doth appear plainly, thou dost not so endanger thy soul by not hearing Mass as by not listening to the preaching. Canst thou not perceive and understand without further argument? For tell me, should you believe in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar if this had not been preached in holy sermons? Thou hast learned to believe in the Mass only from preaching. More than this, how ever shouldst thou have known what sin is, if not from preaching? What wouldst thou know of hell, if there were no preaching? What wouldst thou know of any good work, or how thou shouldst perform it, if not from preaching, or what wouldst thou know of the glories of Heaven? All these things that thou knowest came to thee through the words heard by thine ears, and it is in thiswise that thou comest by knowledge to faith, and that which thou knowest and which thou hast hath come all through the word of God. And this is a sovereign rule, that which we have of the faith of Jesus Christ hath come

merely through preaching. And this faith will never perish while it shall be preached.

3. O you who are cold and dead, go to the fount of life! O woman! in the morning when thou comest to the fount of life and of the teaching of God, to the sermon, leave not your husband abed, or your son, or your brother, but see to it that you wake him out of his sleep, and see to it that he also cometh to hear that which if he be dead will restore him to life. O fellow-citizens! do you wish Siena to prosper? You tell me, yes. See to it then that you hear the word of God; have the ordinance proclaimed that not until after the sermon shall have been preached each morning shall any man open his shop. Ay me! Are you, or do you wish to be, worse than the last time? I cannot believe that you are worse in respect to this; and I believe moreover that if you did well then you will do well now, and better. O! I hear that fellow yonder who saith, I could earn a soldo in the morning. Hearken to me, come to the sermon, because by hearing it thou wilt profit, while thou wouldst lose if thou camest not to hear it, because these are things ordered by God; for if something good hath been ordered by a city, this is an order from God.

4. Being here present to listen thou wilt cleanse thyself of thy sins, and thus amending thyself, thou wilt come to warm thyself in the burning love of God. And so doing thou dost not despise the word of God, which word is the life of our spirit, because ofttimes a single word that thou hearest may be the beginning of thy salvation. Knowest thou not that Saint Peter preaching in Jerusalem, by a single word did convert many thousands of souls? Hast thou understood me, O woman, thou who sleepest over there? I fear not. I come here to bring you the word of God, and you settle yourselves to sleep, and I must break off my preaching to waken you out of your sleep, and moreover that man yonder saith: He hath little to do! Hear then this my answer to thee. Thou seest that the sun performs many duties: it giveth light, it drieth the unbaked bricks, it warmeth man; but I say to thee who sleepest that thou sinnest. Must I make this clear? If a woman ask for the priest, that she may receive communion, and then if she settle herself to sleep, dost thou not believe that she sinneth? Saint Augustine saith that the woman or the man who goeth to a ser-

mon and letteth the word of God pass by doth sin in as grievous a manner as that one who doth ask to receive communion and then through his carelessness doth let the host fall to the ground. But there is this difference, however, that carelessness is a venial sin, but this is a mortal sin, to have not the will to listen when you are able to hear.

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HOW HE WHO HATH AN OFFICE MUST ADMINISTER JUSTICE (Sermon XIX. To the People)

1. Love justice, you that are the judges of the earth. What is justice? Justice consists in . . . looking at me. Hast thou understood? Look at me! Justice may be conceived of in many and varied ways, but among others justice is constancy in the intention to be always just. Oh, you there at the fountain, who are selling your wares, go and do so elsewhere! Do you not hear me, O you there at the fountain? Home again! I say that justice doth consist in a constant and unceasing good intention; that as thou knowest, it wavereth not, but is ever stable, and that through it each hath rendered unto him that which is his, and that which doth befit him; that is, to the wicked is rendered punishment, and to the good, rewards; to the just, favour, and to the guilty, terror; to the good, peace, and to the wicked, war. Let him learn this morning who doth wish to have those offices in which the men of this world are judged.

2. Lo! I wish to tell you an example which happened in the court of the king of France, or of the king of Spain. He had an ape and a bear, and he kept them for his disport. It happened that the ape having young, the bear killed one little ape and devoured it. The ape seeing what had been done, it seemed as if she were crying out for justice, for she betook herself to well nigh all those of the household; she turned now to one side, and now to the other, about each one of those whom she saw. And seeing that she was not understood, one day she broke her chain and went to that place wherein was the bear; for it seemed as if she said: since that no one doth execute justice in respect of the crime of this bear, I myself will execute it. In that place

where was the bear there was much hay. This ape took some of the hay and collected it together around and about the bear; in sum, she put fire to it and burned the bear, and in this manner herself executed justice. — Seest thou that the beasts endeavour in every way that justice be executed, and render that which is merited according to the deed which the other hath performed. — And by this thou dost see that nature dictates it to thee.

3. There are four occasions of wrongdoing which may bring destruction upon any great city. The first is hate. The second is love. The third is fear. The fourth is hope. These make a man to judge wrongly. He who hath hate within him turneth away those to whom he wisheth not well. He who hath love doth advance those of his own house. He who doth fear doth act always out of fear when he seeth one of those whom he feareth. He who doth hope endeavoureth ever to raise aloft him from whom he may have somewhat that shall be useful to him; and therefore doth he send forward him whom he loveth and send him behind whom he hateth, doth send him forward in whom he hath hope and him behind whom he doth fear. It doth seem to him always that the thing is in size double that which in truth it is, one doth seem to him as two; that is to say, he seeth not as a whole, but his vision is divided in two. Wishest thou that I show thee in an example of what condition is his vision. Hist! I would explain so that I may be understood by these women. Women, if you have a spindle, not too large, or a paternoster, one of those which are very large, put your middle finger upon the spindle and your next finger to this also upon the paternoster, and you shall see that they will seem each one of them two. Now make trial of it, quickly, that I may see you do so for a little. And knowest thou what this doth signify? Oh! that one is too small, it will not serve. It doth signify that what is greater doth dominate the smaller because this is less powerful. So doth it seem to him, when he hath performed one thing it doth seem to him two. In like manner if he speak a thing, good or evil, it doth seem to him two. Again knowest thou how he doth? Thou hast heard that when one sayeth a word aloud it doth seem that this selfsame word is repeated opposite to him? Knowest thou how it doth sometimes befall me by chance in my preaching? While I am saying a word it doth rebound from over there among those palaces, and it seemeth two words. As doth befall here in our Piazza, where if a word be spoken

aloud, straightway it is repeated in answer to thee from here opposite, especially before sunrise. If thou dost wish to see if I speak the truth, to anyone who may be here in that pulpit of stone, each single word doth seem two; and there is greater reverberation before the sun doth rise than afterwards. If thou shalt say: Antony! thou art answered, Antony! It seemeth two to thee, and is one. So doth it seem to him; for one doth seem to him two because he hath not justice within him.

4. I hear you have made it a law that no usurer shall enter any office. I praise you therefor, because you have done well indeed; but I say to thee: What manner of man shall he be that goeth to this office? You have done well to provide that no usurer shall go thither, but who will go then, since we are all usurers? And who is he who is not a usurer, or who doth not favour usury? I know of no such man as this. One way there is. Marry! Let us send thither the women! Ah! but yet there are women who incline to usury and encourage it, so therefore it is not fitting that even they should go thither. Marry! Let us send thither the peasants who go begging, and these forsooth would be good men to send thither since they go begging perforce because of their need. Have you paid heed to that which doth befall when a miser entereth an office? He doeth as doth the wolf, who doth purge himself inwardly. When he is elected officer, he hath so great a desire to enter the office that he doth seem to waste away utterly with the great longing thereof, and the time doth seem to him an eternity before he may enter therein to fleece now this man and now to rob that other; precisely as doth the wolf when he is sick from repletion, who goeth to purge himself in a sandy place, in order that he may better fill himself up again, and with yet more. Hearken, I could tell thee of that which a friar once saw, and he who saw it told it to me. He said that a wolf had taken a wild boar near to a place where the friars lived; when he had killed this boar then he left it there where it lay, and went to a river and filled his belly with sand, and purged himself wholly. That river was near by these friars. There was one of them who when he knew of the condition of the wolf bethought himself to go thither, and went, and carried off this boar. Within a little, they lying full low to see what would befall, lo! the wolf doth return there and findeth not the boar. Think you what then befell! Out of the great fury that he flew into, he beat his head so hard on the ground, that he fell dead.

5. Now cometh the point! Knowest thou how such greedy men as these do act when they are elected to an office? They ask: How much money did such an one get from this office? He got two hundred florins from it. Truly, eh? I shall get three hundred with ease from thence. And thus he goeth to the office with that wicked intent to put it into operation. And knowest thou how he goeth thither? Thither he goeth with his banner streaming behind him; he goeth in with all speed and with banner outspread. O how great evil is done, — oftentimes because of not reflecting what he ought to do. For there will be such a one who in order to have these offices of ours, will abandon his shop, his craft; and because of this the crafts and trades of the city diminish. Since such as these abandon their crafts to go and plunder, they do great damage to the city through not performing their trades, and they go forth to rob and plunder the country here outside the walls, and the poor men.

6. Such men as these may be likened to cats. The cat settleth itself before a tiny hole whence the mouse should come out, and there will she lie in await all day to take it; and when it is come almost forth, in that moment she doth spring upon it. So doth the miser, who seeketh an office; when he heareth that they are to draw for an office he doth make every endeavour to get there by means of ballots, and therefore will he go from one friend to another, saying: O my good sir, such an office is before you. I prithee help me by thy vote. And in thiswise he will go about beseeching them all as it were, from friend to friend who is of the Council. O thou wretched fellow! How thinkest thou to do well abandoning thy shop, and pursuing after this one and that one? And if thou shalt have the office, what then? Thou art six months in the office, and after that thou wilt be for a year or longer without any office; and during this time in which thou hast no office thou dost consume that which doth remain to thee, whereas thou mightest instead have gained something by following thy trade or thy craft. And therefore providing as you intend in regard of names in the urns in my opinion you have disposed excellently well: and see that you put in charge only good men and competent, and those who deserve well. If you wish to maintain the city and its confines in good estate, put no rascal in charge there. Saith the rascally fellow: Oh! there is no chance for me. I make answer and say to thee, that it is in truth well done, that when the good and welfare of the

republic is regarded it is better than if what were done concerned only the welfare of a particular man.

7. The first poison is tyranny, for oftentimes there will be some officer who in his own esteem is proud and haughty indeed, but in truth is an extortioner and an exacting tyrant. Ofttimes such as these may be called yearly exactors or monthly, or weekly, or daily, or on every morning or every evening, or twice daily, or even hourly. Knowest thou the yearly exactor? It is he who doth oppress men by exacting money from them every year. The monthly exactor is worse, for he doth exact it monthly. The weekly exactor is even worse, who doth exact it weekly. The daily exactor again is worse, since every day he doth snatch and extort. The exactor on every morning is yet worse, since every morning in which he doth perform the duties of his office, he doth ever extort. In like manner doth the exactor on every evening. But what shall we say of the hourly exactor? We may say that he doth ever exact and oppress and extort, from whosoever doth come within his clutches. And dost thou wish to be called " rector "? This name fitteth thee not, for thou are not a rector indeed. We may take away that first *e* and put there in its place an *a*, and that word will be thy name, which will then be " ractor," with talons like the teeth of a rake. Would you know those who are not deserving of office? Go, look at their talons; if you find that these are hooked as the talons of the kite or the goshawk, they are of the number of those voracious officials, in respect of whom you must be on your guard, never to send them into any office. In like manner also see to it that their mouths curve not downwards, you know, as many birds whose beaks curve downwards, and who drink not water. If you see a beak crooked in that manner you may know thereby that they never drink water, but tear open the skin and suck the blood. Such birds as these lay few eggs. They are not made like our hens, who have not crooked claws nor beaks. O these lay many eggs, in faith! Knowest thou what a " rector " means? One who doth lay many good eggs; but the " ractor " doth naught else than plunder, and devour, and despoil!

8. Hearken! Wouldst thou perceive which those are who deserve not to be rectors, and who if they are so you would do well to rid yourselves thereof? When thou seest an official who doth prolong a case and bringeth it never to a conclusion, and doth ever fleece each one of the two sides, these are not deserving of any office whatsoever.

I have been in such a place where there doth exist this order of affairs: the rector must have so much for every *lira* and so much for every florin; and so doth he fleece the poor man and likewise the rich. Seest thou this prolongment? It is a devouring. Knowest thou that there are such as wish not that disputes and complaints should ever come to an end? When an appeal is made to a governor he doth first require a fee from him who ought to have the money, he is always given something. Likewise the man who ought to have the money giveth him also so much for every *lira*, and this having been paid, he seemeth to himself to have performed a worthy action, and he departeth, with a song. He who ought to have something hath naught, but passeth his time in going from office to office; and so the amount is consumed for both parties, for every official doth act with the same tranquil indifferency. One official goeth out, another entereth office; he receiveth his fee; and he likewise goeth out of office, and the man is never paid. And in this manner justice is never done.

9. Be not puffed up! Hast thou an office? Yes. O hold not thy head so high, lest thou knock it against something. If thou wilt but consider him who hath an office, thou wilt see that he hath a great burden. Is this not evident for example, that he who carrieth a heavy burden must walk stooped? Is there no porter here? Oh, porters! when you have a sack of wheat on your back, you know in truth that you walk thus a little stooped, and the greater the weight the more dost thou stoop forward. Know you not how you walk stooping forward at Michaelmas, then when people move from their houses? When thou bearest on thy back a great and heavy coffer . . . what do I intend by this? I say that he who is a rector hath a very heavy burden. Do not thou as many whom I have seen, who, when they are in office, repose themselves with legs outstretched and feet crossed; he standeth proudly drawn up with his cap on the very top on his head; for naught would he unbend himself; if he should have to enter by a door, being unwilling to stoop even ever so little, his cap would be knocked off from his head. *Noli extolli* Be humble, have done! hold not thy head so high; stoop thyself a little, lest thou knock thy head against the lintel of the door.

10. Incline thyself not to negligence, O officer! Let pass dogs and the hunt, falcons and snares for birds, and nets, and hawks, and let pass walking idly abroad for thy diversion. Stay among them, that

they be not dissolute. Keep them bound in dread, that they do not evil, that they restrain themselves while you are with them. And let not the sheep wander far from thee, for if thou dost suffer them to do so, they will come to harm. O how much of all this doth belong to those who have the care of souls! For they should be ever among their folk, admonishing them, beseeching them, threatening them, in all that wherein there is need of this.

11. The fifth poison is ignorance. Give no office to him if he know not how to fulfil it. He doth merit it not, he is cipher. What is the worth of a cipher, O mathematician? In itself, naught. The cipher can avail naught without company. If thou place here a cipher with one before it, it doth make ten; if thou place next this another cipher, it maketh one hundred. If thou have an office and be cipher, thou wilt never accomplish aught. If then thou have an office and be cipher, take a companion, and then thou availest somewhat. Now pay heed to this example: this also let the women learn. Have you never seen when the seed of the melon is planted, or, better, when grain is sown, or now when figs are ripe, that scarecrows are set up there? As thou knowest, over there in the wheat field they take a sack and fill it with straw, in order that the crows may not come there. And upon this sack they put a gourd, to seem like a man's head; and they make him arms, and put a bow in his hand, bent, so that it seemeth he doth shoot at the crows. And the crows are cunning, and they fly hither and thither; and seeing this man they fear lest they may be killed, and so they wait all day, without pecking. They return thither the next day, and see him still in that same manner; again they wait thus until evening without daring to peck in the sown ground, and again, out of their great desire to peck they return thither the next morning, and they find him in that selfsame posture as on the day before; and seeing that he doth move himself not at all, they commence to fly down to the ground, though afar off, but by little and little they commence to draw near to this gourd, and at times they approach very near to it, though fearfully however. At times when they have thus approached near there will come a puff of wind, which will frighten them away. When they see him move in this manner, they all fly away for fear. Then seeing that he doth make no further motion, they even return and eat, and approach him nearer than they did at first. Sometimes it doth befall that they are one bolder than another, that they

go even very, very near, and seeing that he doth not move, they begin to fly; and they fly and perch upon his bow, and seeing that he doth not move, and doth not shoot off the bow, he hath no fear whatsoever; and so emboldened he percheth upon his head. . . . Now cometh the point. Knowest thou what I mean to say? I mean to say that ofttimes a rector doth in like manner, who entereth that office to which he hath been elected, and he is not fitted for it, since he is a cipher. He doth proclaim the mandate that no one shall blaspheme God, that you must not go abroad at night, that you must game not for money, that you must not bear arms, that you must not speak any manner of abuse one to another. And thus, when the mandate hath been proclaimed, they go making a search by day and by night, with his bailiffs; and ofttimes he doth find one who goeth abroad at night, and one who doth blaspheme God. He will be led to the magistrate to make him pay the penalty. Straightway some one will come to the rector: — O sire, I beg and pray a boon of you. You have such an one, who was found abroad at night; I pray you to pardon him, for my love. Oh! saith the rector, the statutes declare so and so. What! Did he not hear the proclamation? Doth he not know our customs? Saith the other: Oh! it is a custom to proclaim the mandate and so is it also a custom to grant such pardons. He scarce knoweth how to deny this, and so he doth set him at liberty. So is it in the case of one who doth blaspheme, and in like manner of one who doth stir up a quarrel. And thus by little and little he doth permit himself to judge, according to the prayers of him who doth desire the pardon. . . .

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HOW BUSINESS OUGHT TO BE CARRIED ON (Sermon XXVIII. To the People)

1. First above all I say that a business doth become unlawful with relation to the person engaged therein. For example, understand me: it is not lawful for me who am a friar, to hang a man, since that doth not belong to my art; that art belongeth to secular men. And so, I say, it is not permitted to any friar or priest. And thus, I would say,

that neither to friar nor to priest is it permitted to do that which belongeth to secular men to do. The priest and the friar should attend to the offices of the church and to the salvation of souls. Nor should you who are seculars give offices to religious; nor moreover should religious either accept them, or seek them, or exercise them. Nor should a religious entangle himself in secular business, no! Hearken now, answer me, fellow citizens: you are preparing your urns; are you placing friars in charge there? If you are putting them there, put me there as well. You set yourselves to believe that your secular chamberlains of the Commune have stolen the money of the Commune, and for this reason perchance you would have them friars. The friars perhaps will not steal? Oh, it is an evil sign when because of this you demand friars! O what a blessing is this, that you do suspect one another? I have told you, and I say it to you because of the words of Paul: entangle not religious with these businesses (Cf. II Tim. 2:4). Doth it not suffice that you go to the home of the devil out of your desire for these offices without that you should endeavour to drag us thither as well? They have no other words in their mouths than these: We trust them not.

2. I say to thee that this is an evil sign. You can not perform that which is acceptable to God, while you do so set yourselves against him, and against those who established the body of Church. Know you that which I would say to you, since you wish that they should hold office? See then that they wear secular dress, — that they wear caps tossed back, and that they have doublets which reach only to their middle! And thou mayest rest assured in regard of whoever doth bring it about or hath brought it about, that any religious should hold office, that I know certainly he hath committed a very grievous sin, — a mortal sin; since that he hath done that which was not permitted to him, nor is not, nor ever will be: and I say that whosoever was the occasion thereof, is bound to make restitution of all that money in respect of which the Commune hath suffered loss. Oh, a fine idea this, that they wished to place me in charge of the urns! Oh, next I would be made keeper of the Castle of Montalcino! I am assured that this you wished to do out of good will, — but tell me, ought I not to know that this is not permitted to me? Fye! fye! Oh, I should have been a great simpleton, forsooth! Thou dost not cozen me, in faith, with so great ease. Oh! is it becoming that the execu-

tioner be paid by one who is at one and the same time priest and chamberlain of the Commune? Doth this belong to his office? Pray, will it be fitting then that he go afterwards to say Mass? But let us speak of this matter at length: What think you a religious doth when you have made him chamberlain? All the night doth he dream that he is counting money, and in his sleep he saith continually: four, six, eight, and he doth count without ceasing. In regard of myself I do believe that if I were in that office, I should steal more than the others steal. Have done! Manage your own businesses; give them not occasion of sin, but let them do what belongeth to them to do. Woe is me! for when I think of the sin that you are committing, both seculars and religious as well, I tremble with fear! You have made a fine friendship with the friars in faith, so that you would meddle in their businesses, and would have the friars entangle themselves in yours. Do not so, do not so. *Reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, et quae sunt Dei Deo. I say unto you that you should render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's* (Matt. 22:21). Let them perform their offices, and you do yours. Do not confound the lance with the axe. Do not thrust yourselves into their affairs, for I predict to you that if you do entangle yourselves in the business of one another, you will fall into mortal sin; and if you die in this sin, to the house of fire with you both! Hearken to a saying of Jerome, in the XXVIII. chapter: *Clericum negotiatorem et ignobilem inopem, gloriosum.* Where thou seest any of the clergy a tradesman, who doth entangle himself in many matters, now in this, now in that, and that from a poor man he doth come into any riches whatsoever, — believe me he is one to be handled with caution; and I say there is great danger in having to do with him. And therefore I say that the first thing to be done is this, that you must consider the person who doth carry on the business, whether he be secular or religious. This mist then is now cleared away.

3. The second point to be considered in regard of him who doth carry on business is, from what motive he doth carry it on. I told thee of it yesterday; to-day I will tell thee again. I say that if he doth this to provide for his family, or in order to free himself from debt, or to marry his daughters, — then I say it is permitted to him. But what shall we say of him who hath no need thereof, who doth so spend himself, doth busy himself here, doth busy himself there, doth

this, doth that, and doth never cease? Say I, that unless he doth this for the poor, he doth sin mortally, since that such hoarding as this is called the sin of avarice. See then whether I say not the truth to thee! If he hath not need, and doth hoard only for himself and for himself alone, what thinkest thou this is? Naught else than avarice. If he himself hath no need thereof, he ought to distribute it to the poor, or to hospitals, or in pious works. And if he doth use it otherwise, it is plain and clear to be seen that he doth gain and hoard out of avarice, and his people will have this, his kinsmen or his nephews, or his brothers, or cousins, or those who will never give further thought to him. Oh, it is an evil beast, avarice! Thou seest that with all this wearing himself by day and by night, yet never hath he satisfied any wish of his. And therefore is said in Ecclesiastes in V. chapter (vs. 10; D. 9): *Avarus non satiabitur*[1] *pecunia. A covetous man shall not be satisfied with money;* — the more he hath, the more he desireth. Shall we see whether I say the truth! Now put it to the proof, O miser! what dost thou wish? I wish ten thousand florins; had I but ten thousand florins I should feel that I was well off. Now then, here they are. Hast thou them? Yes. Next. What hast thou done with them? Oh, I have spent them! I want more. One of my partners hath repaid me one hundred florins which I lent him; I have spent it for cattle; I had need of fifty florins to set in order a house; I have need of yet more. Now then. How then. How much dost thou wish? I would have at the least, at the least, fifteen thousand. Seest thou that already his greed hath increased? Now then. Here, take them. What wilt thou do with them? Hast thou thought of this? Yes, there is by the side of my own house one that would suit me well indeed, and likewise this property doth stand between two that I own; if I might but have it, there would then be no one who could do any damage whatsoever to me; they would all be side by side together. And straightway or in this, or in that, doth he spend it all, and even doth exert himself to procure yet more. I would have more money. O for what hast thou need of so much? Oh, if I had but a little more! I feel assured that I should not seek to add more to it. Once more, how much dost thou wish? I would have at the least, twenty-five thousand. O what wouldst thou do with so much? Oh, what would I do with it? There is a fortress in a certain place which would suit me exceeding well, and moreover

[1] Vulg., *implebitur*.

I should like as well to own the property outside each of its gates. Mist is hateful to me. If there were mist at one gate, I should go to another, where there was no mist. He would have fine garments in new fashions: which is to say, in sum, that if he should have hundreds of thousands, he would not be content.

4. Now let us look at four manners of sinning that do make the trade unlawful which some men practise. The first is the concealing of the truth; as for instance, he who doth possess a horse which hath a defect, and he wisheth to sell this; if he were to make known this defect, he could not sell it. I say that if he doth sell it, and doth not make known that defect, and if through that defect he should bring an harm to anyone, he who selleth it is held and bound to make restitution. The second is found in those who use diverse weights and measures, or scales, or balances. Hast thou never paid heed to him who doth sell by weight that he doth give a shove downwards with that which he putteth into the scale for thee? Each time is he bound to make restitution. The third occasion of sin is found in him who doth sell by measure; who will so stretch and pull the cloth that ofttimes he doth well nigh tear it asunder. Stretch with all thy force when thou hast it to sell! And likewise doth he who maketh the garment, — because in order to have it longer he doth stretch it so that he doth almost tear it, and sometimes it doth split down the middle, from head to foot. I say naught to thee of those who keep in a place which was damp that merchandise which they sell by weight, so that it may weigh more!

5. Hearken! I wish to tell you of that which befell a merchant who was used to keep his merchandise in a place which was damp, so that it might weigh more. That time it went from bad to worse. One merchant went to buy saffron from another, and he who wished to buy having arrived at the shop of the one who had it to sell, he said: I wish as much saffron as I can find. Said he: I will give thee mine. And having showed it to him, at once he who was to buy it perceived that it was damp, and he said to the one who was selling it to him: See that it is sent to my house, and I will weigh it, and will give thee the money. The fellow sends it straightway, so that it may not dry, and then follows after the man who was carrying it, in order to weigh it. When they were arrived at the house of the other, said he who is to buy it: do me this favour; I can not wait now to weigh it, — seal it

up, and leave it here for a time, and I will return. He doth so, and doth depart in God's name in all peace. Marry! When he is out of the house, at once the other hath the saffron taken up, and hath it put into an oven which was there near by, and when it is dry he hath it replaced there where the other had left it. Afterwards cometh the other merchant, and they weigh this saffron; and he took his money and went about his own business. So it went from bad to worse. One made it damp so that its weight be greater than it was; and the other put it into the oven, so that it might weigh less than it should, for perchance it dried more than it should have done. And in thiswise he who thought that he would cheat was himself cheated.

6. The third thing which doth make merchandise unlawful, is when a man doth sell something harmful; and this may be understood in many ways. How great difference there is between one kind of merchandise and another, both in regard of worth and of harmfulness. O apothecary, who to rid thyself of thy goods doth many a time give something bad to him who doth pay for it, as if it were the finest in the world, in what doth thy sin consist? First, it is a sin against good merchandise, and second against just weight, and fair measure. Do not thou as many do, who follow a certain practice of theirs. The conditions of the body of each of us are not the same; this man is cold, this one warm; for one and the same medicine may do harm to one and good to another. Therefore trust never to thyself, but rely upon that which the physician saith to thee, who doth know from practice and from learning. See that it doth not happen to thee as once befell another apothecary. A man falling ill at once sent for the physician, and when he had seen the sick man, he said that he must needs take a certain medicine; he was told that he should order it. And having left the sick man, he went to the apothecary and said: take thy book, and write for such a one: Take half a dram of such a thing and two of such another, *et cetera:* and dissolve it in such and such water. And having prepared it in thiswise, see that it be given to this sick man. In the evening cometh the brother of the sick man to the apothecary for the medicine which the physician had ordered, and the apothecary giveth him a medicine which he had prepared after his own fashion, and not according to the directions of the physician. The other doth carry it home with him, and at night, when the hour was come for it, he giveth it to the sick man. And when it had been

given to him in thiswise, it wrought with him so that he died from it. This man's brother goeth straightway to the physician, and told him what had befallen. The physician said that this could not have happened so, unless forsooth the apothecary had done as he himself wished, after his own fashion. Thereupon this man went to the apothecary with two witnesses, for the sake of caution. When the apothecary seeth him, at once he asked: How doth thy brother? Well, he replied. And how wrought the medicine with him? And he replied: Excellently well, I believe that by means of it he will be cured. When saith the apothecary: Great thanks then are due to me, for I compounded it of other things than the physician told me of. Then said he: We are witnesses to that which he hath said. And straightway he went to the Signoria, and related this matter, and how his brother had died. Finally the apothecary was taken into custody, and was condemned to death, and lost his life. And this was because he was giving his wares without regard to measure, in order to rid himself of as much as possible; he was giving too full measure, and others paid the cost thereof. Do you understand me? Yes. Then beware of this. This man did not do as another did, who sold his comrade's wares at a cheap price in order to squander it, and to better the sale of his own.

7. Another vice in regard of business lies in counting; it is that of the man who doth count so as to cheat; for with counting in so great haste he doth contrive to bewilder the man or the woman who doth receive the money, and this through his counting in haste: there, and there, and there, and there: one, two, three, five, seven, eight, ten, thirteen, fourteen, sixteen, nineteen, and twenty. And the poor little old woman, who hath not much wit, believeth that it is as thou sayest, and doth receive the money as thou givest it to her; and home she goeth, and doth begin to count it, coin by coin, and findeth herself cheated of three pence, and she returneth to him who gave her the money, and saith: Ay me! I went home with the money you gave me, and I have counted it again; I find that I lack three pence. Such men as this will reply: You will see that you have made a mistake in counting it. Saith she: no, you have given me too little, for the love of God, give it to me. Saith he: Oh! look whether you have not dropped it, hath not your purse perchance a hole in it? And so the poor creature hath the worst of it. Thinkest thou that this is pleasing to God? No,

verily. Covet not thy neighbour's goods (Cf. Ex. 20:17), this is one of the commandments; and the other saith: *Non furaberis Thou shalt not steal* (Ex. 20:15). This is theft, that you take this from her, and she can help herself in nowise.

8. Another manner of sin is murder; as for instance sometimes when a butcher will slaughter and sell at his counter, so much for a *lira,* meat that is infected. And many times they are themselves the cause of it. In what condition think you, must an animal be which hath been inflated by a man who is himself infected with disease? He hath infected that animal, and there is the chance that it may kill whosoever doth eat of it. There are many who say that they inflate the animal in order that they may skin it more easily; but I say to thee that even if it be more difficult to skin, thou shouldst endure this labour, thou shouldst do that which doth belong to thy trade so far as it is possible. Moreover I would say in reply to those who tell me this: What is the reason wherefor at Rome they never inflate the meat? And yet there they slaughter them? Cast it away, rather than sell such infected wares. Do not do as did a renegade Christian, one of those Christians "of the Cord." It is said that once he told the Sultan this, saying to him: I rid us of more Christians by killing them in a certain fashion than do all your followers with sword in hand. The fashion of it was as follows: that he used to go among the Christians, and sold meat and fish and other things which were tainted and infected, the which things were eaten by the Christians: and by this means, many of them died in a brief time.

9. From naught doth the Commune so profit as from the utility of the Guilds, and from merchandise which is bought and sold. Seldom are Guilds licensed which are harmful, — such as is one, that is, the snipping of cloth; — snipping of cloth does naught for the common good. Moreover the Guild of poisons does naught for the common good. Whensoever a property doth sustain damage, or human beings, this can not be for the common good. Saith Scotus in his Commentary on the 4th. Book of Sentences, Dist. 15: that those things which a Commune can not dispense with are three: the Guild of Wool-weavers is one, the greatest utility doth result thereof to the common good. Likewise the Guild of Shoemaking. Such Guilds are maintained by merchants, who have wool and leather brought hither. Now in like manner as these two are necessary, so also is the Uni-

versity necessary; it is but little appreciated by those who have never studied aught. Never suffer it to depart from Siena, O Sienese, for you can not comprehend the profit and the honour which will accrue to you therefrom a short time from now. Consider Bologna, the fame thereof, and the utility and the honour. So will it befall you if you shall be able to maintain it, for therein are men fitted to bring you into renown everywhere. Since that you have the *Sapienza* here, extend its privilege to the merchants and throughout the Republic, because as I have told you, it is necessary and profitable to the common good, and is most pleasing to the Good Lord God. You may perceive even now that already there cometh forth from out of it a band of your citizens fitted for the doctor's degree. And as I say to the citizens, so do I say likewise to you who study: see to it that you become not such great simpletons. It is a thing which is pleasing to God.

NICHOLAS OF CUSA

(1401–64)

THE Cardinal's amazing learning spanned the fields of mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, law, languages, and theology. His *Catholic Concordance* presented much of his conciliar theory even as his *Learned Ignorance* sounded the depths of his mystical philosophy. Though lacking the popular appeal of such preachers as Bernardine of Siena, whom he much admired, he sought in his Gospel ministry the means to Christian reform and the edification of all the faithful. Both of the following sermons, one in the older edition of Cus.Ex., Lib. IV, 444–45, and the other drawn from the recently edited Cus.Pr. 92–98, are translated by Miss Dorothy Ann Freeman.

[57]

FROM A SERMON ON THE EUCHARIST

Since Christ is life-giving life, and since our life cannot be preserved without food, he who is the giver of life is also its preserver. Wherefore he is the bread of life. And because he is the bread or food of life, this bread cannot be attained except by faith; for that which gives life is spirit. The spirit, moreover, cannot be known, whence it comes or whither it goes, as the doctrine of Christ teaches. It cannot be attained, therefore, by knowledge. But since we must come to the spirit of life, if we strive to gain life; and since we cannot achieve this by knowledge, it is fitting that this should be accomplished by that virtue which is above knowledge; namely, faith. This faith, moreover, which deserves to attain spiritual life, should be triumphant and militant, and obedient to Christ. It should hold captive the intellect, that thus it may be victorious and virtuous.

Virtue, however, is not perfected except in adversity. Therefore, this faith, in order to be perfected in virtue and become strong, must endure difficulties, and the more numerous they are, the greater should be its virtue. But if it is necessary that faith be of such great virtue that it reaches, in the spirit, the eternal life of the spirit, it must be most virtuous, and hence most victorious. Therefore, the obstacles which ought to be overcome are necessarily most evident; and that which most obviously opposes faith is the certitude which abides in the senses. Because nothing exists in the intellect which does not exist first in sense, it is particularly the duty of the virtue of faith to hold captive the intellect, that it may believe the opposite of what sense shows. Thence it comes that Christ offers himself as the bread of life to those discerning spirits of ours, which, through victory over sensible things, deliver themselves captive through faith, and without doubt believe that to be true which sense denies. Such a result, indeed, proceeds from this alone, that [the spirit] believes him, whom it sees a man, to be the Son of God. In consequence of this faith, it believes all that the Son pronounces and preaches as the words of God, to whom nothing is impossible. But the more impossible anything seems according to the judgment of the senses, the more possible it is to God, for the manifestation of his omnipotence and great glory. This faith shows, moreover, that the bread of the Gospel has the knowledge of life, since it is the word of eternal life and shows also, since it is the only food of life, the justification of the incarnate word, [in its two aspects] of preaching and of the justifying host.[1] Therefore, for this purpose, to touch the bread of life in faith through victory over appearances, and in opposition to the sensible world, it has always been necessary to have this warfare. Since this nourishment is always necessary for us, so also the strongest faith is always requisite to attain it. For this reason, when he was about to depart from this world, Christ promised to abide with us until the end of time, in such way that his presence should contribute to our attainment of life. And because he saw that it was especially conducive to the attainment of life, he concealed himself, the food of spiritual life, under sensible semblance, having corporeal form, that is, the bread and wine. In this same way he himself appeared corporeally, when he bore the true food of spiritual life hidden in a body nourished on bread and wine, that is, a body of flesh and blood. Hence departing from this world, he left us the Eucharist, in which he who is the sustenance of the mind lies hidden under sensible sacramental signs. Just so, while he walked in body on this earth, he bore hidden in flesh and blood the food of life; so that in those very foods by which the physical body is fed, the spirit, when the refreshment of the corruptible manna is withdrawn, may through faith be nourished by the food of the incorruptible bread which comes down from heaven. And therefore, even as the stomach by its own heat extracts food from the bread of the corruptible manna in order to restore itself, faith by its own fire may infuse the living spirit into the bread in order itself to live in life. Therefore, as he himself was sent by the Father, minister of the word of life which he possessed, ministering the sustenance of life, and offering himself as that sustenance; just so he sent the apostles and disciples and their successors to the end of the ages in the same way as he himself was sent by the Father, that they also, in the word of life, might minister the food of life and might offer Christ himself as the nutriment of life in the form of corporeal foods. And thus you see how the sustenance of life should be ministered in preaching, just as in oblation. And the preaching is so much the more perfect, in proportion to the fruitfulness and the frequency in it of that sweetest oblation, the mystical body of Christ.

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[1] The text at this point and at several others in this sermon is obscure and has been rendered as nearly as possible in relation to the original.

Let us touch upon the cause of this institution. One purpose was mentioned in the beginning, namely, that thus Christ may be with us, so that through faith we may be able to partake of the nutriment of life. And since he is with us as the justifying host, given for the life of the world, intangible to the senses, we are able to partake of life through strong faith, in the oblation of the invisible host, contained under visible semblances. There is another cause of the institution, which we must especially remember: that Christ took bread, and giving thanks broke it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: Take and eat; this is my body which is given for you; this do in commemoration of me (cf. Matt. 26:26; Luke 22:19). [Thus] he wished to show that his true body must be given for them, that he might give them life. And just as the bread, which he made his body, was one and was divided, and offered to all, and refreshed each one partaking of it, thus also was it with the wine. Just as Christ, the enlivening life, unites the whole body of the faithful in the unity of faith, since he himself is [both] the life and the body of faith; just so he instituted this sacrament, that in it he himself might be the food of life, and those sharing in this one bread, the one body of Christ, by the one food of life should be refreshed. Christ, therefore, wished that in memory of this, that he himself was life and gave himself for the faithful, the bread should be consecrated and given to the faithful. Of the faithful it is therefore required that he should participate in the body of Christ, which is in the sacramental bread, that thus he may show himself to remember the sacrifice of Christ for him. This [he should do] in unity with the mystical body of Christ, in whose existent body he participates through the bread of faith. And, together with the mystical body, he shares in the unity of Christ who is partaken in the sacrament.

The love of your neighbor is not enough, unless it is also in God, and the existence of the sacrament is necessary for salvation, so that you may be incorporated in the unity of the body of Christ and the head of Christ, for otherwise you cannot live. Therefore, it is fitting that you should receive the sacrament of this unity, so that you may openly show that you believe such an incorporation to be a necessity for salvation.

[58]

" WHERE IS HE WHO IS BORN KING OF THE JEWS? " — Matt. 2:2 (On the Epiphany: At Brixen, 1456)

* * *

9. Paul said that we exist in God and move in him, for we are wayfarers. The wayfarer takes his name and his existence from the way. The wayfarer who walks or moves in the Infinite Way, if he is asked where he is, says, " On the way "; if asked, where he moves, replies, " In the way "; if asked why he moves, says, " Because of the way "; and if asked whither he goes, says, " From the way to the way." Accordingly, the Infinite Way is called the place of the wayfarer, and this is God. Therefore, this Way, outside of which no wayfarer is to be found, is an existence without beginning or end, and from it the wayfarer takes all that he is or has, and through it he is a wayfarer. The fact that a farer begins to be a wayfarer on the way adds nothing to the Infinite Way itself, nor does it make any change in this Way which is eternal and immovable.

10. Therefore, take note how the Word of God proclaims itself to be the Way; you are able to understand this, because the living intellect is a wayfarer on the Way or in the Word of life, from which Way he takes his being and his name, and in which he moves. If to move is to live, the moving Way is life, and thus it is the living Way of the living wayfarer.[1] From the Way the wayfarer receives his life, and the living Way is his place, and he moves in it and from it, through it and to it. Rightly, therefore, did the Son of God call himself the Way and the Life.

11. But take note of this also: this Way, which is Life, is also Truth. The living wayfarer is a rational spirit who, in his faring, takes a living delight; for he knows whither he goes. He knows that he is in the Way of Life, and this Way is Truth, for Truth is the most delightful and the immortal food of his life; through which he has his being, and by which he is sustained. Therefore, this living Way, which is also Truth, is, in addition, the Word of God, itself God, and

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[1] Typical play on words: *sic est via viva vivi viatoris.*

is “ the light of men ” walking on the Way; for the wayfarer, walking, needs no other light to prevent him from walking in darkness, as one not knowing where he wanders. But the Way, which is Life and Truth, is also illuminating light, and this light is living, because it shows itself to be “ the light of life.”

12. All men enter this world in the same way, but they do not all live after the same fashion, for although men, like other animals, are born naked, they clothe themselves, through the art of the tailor in order that they may live more comfortably. Also, they make use of cooked foods, and houses, and horses, and many such things which art adds to nature for the betterment of life. These arts we receive as a great gift or favor from their discoverers. Therefore, although many live in much misery, grief, and oppression, suffering much, while others lead lives of luxury in joy and splendor, still we rightly assert that a man, by various arts or graces, can attain greater peace and joy in life than nature grants. Many, it is true, have discovered, through natural ability or divine inspiration, various arts for the improvement of living: some have invented the mechanical arts of sowing, planting, and doing business; others have written out the laws of politics and economics; and still others have discovered the ethic of habituating themselves through their manners and ways of life to delight in virtuous living, and thus to govern themselves peacefully. Yet, nevertheless, none of these arts serve the spirit, but rather they offer suggestions according to which one can, in this world, live a virtuous life of peace and quiet and praiseworthiness.

13. Therefore, to these arts religion was added, founded on divine authority and revelation, to bring man to obedience to God, through fear of him and love of him and our neighbor; in the hope of gaining the favor of God, the giver of life, that he may attain in the present world a long and tranquil life, and in heaven a life that is joyful and divine. In contrast to all other forms of religion which fail of true life, the Way to eternal life was revealed to us through Jesus, the Son of God, who made known to us the nature of the heavenly life which the sons of God enjoy, the assurance that we may achieve the sonship of God, and the means by which we may accomplish it.

But just as the art of living well in this world is variously revealed by various insights, and the clearer these are, the more perfect it is, so also religion, which looks to the future life and orders the present for the sake of the future, has been variously revealed by prophets foreseeing the future from a distance. And because no one sees the future life except in imagination, therefore only he, who came into our human nature from God and that heavenly life which is future for us, could perfectly reveal religion or the way to it. This is our Jesus, who came from Heaven that we might have life and live more abundantly through him than through nature, who " began to do and to teach " how this might be accomplished, and who said: *Whoever follows me, walks not in darkness, but he shall have the light of life* (John 8:12). He who was also the Way of nature was himself, therefore, the Way to the attainment of grace.

14. Jesus, therefore, is the place where every motion of nature or of grace comes to rest. The Word of Christ or the teaching, the command or the example of his motion, is the Way to the vision or the apprehension of eternal life, which is the life of God, who alone is immortal; and this life is more abundant than the life of created nature. But no one can enter into the way of grace, which leads to the Father, through himself; he must enter through a gate. Christ who proclaimed himself to be the gate is also the Way: the faithful Christian, by the work of faith through love, enters through the gate and finds himself in the Way. The gate is faith. The Way is love. Thus faith in Christ becomes both gate and Way. The Word of God the Father summons us out of non-existence into existence, and finally to that sort of existence which the intellectual life enjoys, because it understands its own existence. The Word made flesh summons this intellectual life through grace to fellowship with the Word, through which it tastes, in the fountain of the Father, the sweetness of his divine life, which is imparted to the sons of God.

GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA

(1452–98)

SPURRED on by ascetic vigils and prophetic visions, Savonarola pronounced the Lord's judgments on pontiffs, secular rulers, and the whole of Italian society. His reforming zeal, coupled with his homiletic boldness, brought him almost unparalleled popularity. The extremes of his Florentine theocracy precipitated a political reversal culminating in his death at the stake. The Biblical tempo of his preaching is observable in the following arraignment of secular and religious groups whom he calls to repentance. The translation by Miss Gertrude Marie Puccia is from Savon.Pr.Fer. 99–100, 102–03, 110–14 compared with Savon.Pr.Vil. 52–65.

[59]

PENITENZA, PENITENZA . . . !

Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand (Matt. 4:17)

O sinners, stubborn, lukewarm, all who defer repentance to the last, *agite poenitentiam,* do penance; do it now; do not delay any longer, for the Lord now awaits you and thus He calls you. Listen to my words, not as if they came from me, but from God. I can do no more than say: *agite poenitentiam.* See how good and how merciful God is and how He desires to lead you to the Ark to save you. Come, sinners, come, for God calls you. I feel great grief and great compassion for you. Join us in this Holy Feast of All Saints, which we celebrate today. When I think of it, my grief increases tremendously, for I compare, with your misery, the rejoicing and beatitude in which the Saints find themselves today on the occasion of this Feast; and, for the sake of charity, I cannot but feel deeply sorry for you. So great is their beatitude and contentment that not only can one not speak of it, but one cannot even imagine it. . . . O foolish men, who by sinning are willing to lose so much peace and rest, *agite poenitentiam, do penance;* return to God and you will find complete rest; repent your errors; confess; make strong your intention never to sin again; receive the sacrament of Holy Communion which will make you, also, blessed! When we look at those who are converted and who follow the road of a good Christian life, who confess and receive Holy Communion often, we see in them something almost divine, a humility, a spiritual rejoicing. Their faces have almost assumed angelic form. And *e converso,* looking upon the faces of the wicked and stubbornly perverted and especially upon the faces of certain ecclesiastics when they are unbridled in their vices, we see them as demons, and worse than laymen. And *tamen,* these ecclesiastics use this sacrament every day. See how different is the effect upon them: this sacrament sweetens the hearts of the good and produces perfect humility in them; the contrary is seen in the wicked. Thus I thought and I said: If this sacrament in which one believes what is not seen, gives so much joy to one who, well disposed, takes it and receives it, O how much greater will be and is this joy in those blessed spirits who *facie ad faciem,* see Him and fully rejoice in Him. O human heart, why do you not dissolve and melt in so much sweetness and so much love? . . .

Your sins, then, O Italy, O Rome, O Florence, your impieties, your fornications, your cruelties, your sins, I say, beget these tribulations. Here is the cause! And if you have found the cause of all this evil, look for its remedy. Eradicate the sin that is the source of it, and you will be healed: *quia remota causa, removetur effectus. Take away the sins, and the tribulations will not harm you;* and if you do not do this, believe me, nothing else will avail. You are deceiving yourselves, Italy and Florence, if you do not believe what I tell you. Nothing except penance will help you: do as you wish, but all will be in vain without it. You shall see.

O rich, O poor, do penance; and you rich, give alms to the poor. *Peccata tua elemosinis redime.* O you who fear God, do good and do not be afraid of tribulations, for God will give you great consolation in them. Penance is the only remedy; and if only you will truly repent, you will remove a great part of the tribulations. *Agite poenitentiam,* and remove the sins that are the cause of the tribulations.

You should realize by this time that I speak to you as a father to his children, for your good; and you should see that God, in this affliction of yours, has given me to you as a father, to show you the way to correct your errors, that you may merit forgiveness in the judgment of God. . . .

Where, Florence, is my honor and that of my superiors? Where is the honor and the authority of the father and the good unity of the children? If you, at least, would do good, Florence! This I should like from you, my daughter; and this, and nothing else, would be my reward and yours.

If only you would have compassion for me, for it is for you and your salvation that I am so grieved. What do I ask of you, Florence, if not that you be saved and that you do good and nothing else? I have heard from other cities that if I had said and done what I have said and done here, they would have become people quite different from you. For that reason, I implore you all that now you be no longer stubborn, but that you turn yourselves to God and do penance quickly; for I do not say this to you without reason. . . . But because up to now I have spoken to you all generally, and I see that it is of no use, it is therefore necessary to touch upon the particulars to some extent. . . .

O consecrated priests, hear my words, O priests, O prelates of the Church of Christ, renounce your benefices that you cannot serve; renounce your pomp and your convivial gatherings and the banquets which you give so splendidly; renounce, I say, your concubines and your boys,[1] for it is time I say to do penance, because from all these things come the great tribulations by which God desires to mend His Church. Say your masses with devotion; if you do not, if you are not willing to understand what God wants, in the end you will lose both benefices and life.

O monks, renounce the extravagance of your attire and your silver vessels and the over-running fatness of your abbeys and benefices. Give yourselves to simplicity; and work with your hands as did the ancient monks, your fathers, and your predecessors; otherwise, if you do not do it willingly, there will come a time when you will be forced to do it.

O nuns, renounce, renounce you, too, your extravagances; renounce your simonies when you accept, as nuns, those who come to stay in your monasteries; renounce your many decorations and your exceeding pomp when your sisters are consecrated; renounce your florid chants.[2] Weep, I say, as quickly as possible for your failings and your errors. I tell you that the time to weep is coming rather than the time to sing and give feasts, because God will punish you if you do not change your life and habits. If you will not do it, do not be surprised then if destruction comes and if everything perishes.

O my brothers, to you I say: Renounce your extravagance, your paintings, and your vain ornaments. Make your robes less full and of thinner material. Do you not realize that your extravagances are taking alms away from the poor? O brothers, O children, it is necessary to speak frankly in this way, that no one may say: " I did not know about it," and so excuse himself. I am obliged to speak thus,

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[1] The Latin word *cinedi* is used in the text.

[2] The text reads *canti figurati.*

et vae mihi si non evangelizavero (I Cor. 9:16). Woe to me were I not to say it! I declare to you that if you will not listen to the voice of God, He will punish you.

O merchants, renounce your usuries; give back other people's belongings and the things you have dishonestly taken; otherwise you will lose everything.

O you who have anything superfluous, give it to the poor, for it is not yours. Take it to the Company of Saint Martin that they may distribute it to the poor too ashamed to beg, who so often die of hunger, while you have so much in excess. Give it, I say, to those Good Men of Saint Martin's; take it there to them; I do not say to me, nor to my brothers, for it is not our work to distribute alms to the poor. You poor, go to those who distribute the alms of the city, and you will be helped. I say to you that he who has any excess, must give it to the poor; and more than this, I say to you that it is time to give even beyond your superfluity.

And now, O priests, I must come back to you; I mean the bad ones, for I am always reverent to the good ones. Renounce, I say, that unspeakable vice, renounce that accursed vice that has so greatly provoked the wrath of God upon you. If you do not, woe, woe to you! O lustful ones, dress yourselves in hair-cloth and do that penance which you need! O you who have your houses full of vanities and pictures and indecent things and evil books, and that *Morgante*[1] of yours and other poetry contrary to the faith, bring them to me to make a bon-fire or a sacrifice to God. And you, mothers, who adorn your daughters with so much vanity and extravagance and fancy hair ornaments, bring all these things here to us to throw into the fire, so that, when the wrath of God comes, He will not find them in your houses. And thus, I command you as your father. Now, if you will do thus in these matters, as I have told you, you will be sufficient, you alone, to placate the wrath of God; otherwise, I should regret to have to bring you bad tidings. . . .

[1] Of Pulci.

MICHEL MENOT

(Fl. 1508–18)

MENOT'S sermons, all too little known at best, have frequently been disparaged as barren scholasticism by some and as literary barbarism by others. The following selection may help to make possible a fairer appraisal of this French Minorite. In the very period of Luther's emergence he was stressing the function of Biblical preaching in the reform of Church and society. His strictures on ecclesiastical abuses and social perversions as found in every class frequently draw upon the vernacular. Stylistic weakness is at times more than compensated by prophetic vigor. Dr. Louise P. Smith's translation is made from Men.Nev. 229–35.

" CRY, CEASE NOT, LIFT UP THY VOICE LIKE A TRUMPET."

(Isa. 58:1. From the Lesson for the Day — On the Sixth Day After Ash Wednesday)

Good people, I said yesterday, in the beginning of my sermon, that the proud king Hezekiah, when he heard the evil tidings heralding the approach of death, immediately forgot the honors of this world and the glory of his kingdom and prostrated himself on the ground, seeking favor and mercy from God. But what was it that quelled the armed wrath of his enemies? We are assured that this was accomplished by the agency of Isaiah, the servant of God.

It is Isaiah who, today, marks out for us the pattern to be followed in preaching. To him the Lord said: *Cry, cease not, lift up thy voice.* What then is this pattern? We are told what it is and ought to be:

*A*rdor in exhortation
*A*uthority in instruction
*A*usterity in condemnation.

The first requirement for preaching is that the preacher must speak, not merely from his mouth, but also from his heart. Therefore, holy preaching is not like a musical performance given solely to refresh the audience. The worldly today are still saying: *Speak unto us pleasant things,* (Isa. 30:10), and we will hear you. On the contrary, the preacher must be harsh and sharp-tongued when he reproves faults! Consider (I Sam. 7:8), where the people who were returning to the Lord in penitence said to Samuel: *Cease not to cry to the Lord our God for us that He may save us out of the hands of the Philistines.* Now the Scripture does not say merely " speak," but *cease not to " cry."* Truly, courage and a sincere heart are required to exhort a sinful people.

Who then is fit? St. Paul, a teacher of truth, a holy vessel, the light and glory of civilization and Christianity, said: *Woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel* (I Cor. 9:16)! St. Paul, who was filled with grace, whose tongue spoke continually the glory of Christ and His ardent love, who was accorded full honor by the other apostles! I believe that Christ had no more faithful servant and soldier than this Paul, no one who has preached His name more fervently among the Gentiles. And this is proved by his deeds. When he saw that some objected to his carrying on his duty of preaching, and he was warned to be silent; he said with great vehemence: *Woe is me,* etc. You see how great was his zeal in exhorting the people of God. Would that our preachers today had at least a spark kindled from his *A*rdor!

Be a wise guide, it is said (Canon Law), *in silence, be a wise guide; in speech be apposite and prudent; neither declare what ought to be kept silent, nor hold back what should be spoken.* For just as imprudent speech leads to error, so unwise silence may leave in error those who might be instructed. Short-sighted leaders, dreading the loss of human favor, often fear to speak the right openly. In the *Dispensatio,* the words of Ruth, chap. 2, are quoted. And in that connection we find specified the ways preachers and rulers ought to teach the people and preach the word of God. For their duty is to teach that Truth of whom John records: *I am the way and the truth and the life,* etc. (14:6 text, 13). But in these days the words of Isaiah (56:10) can be applied to many. *They are all . . . dumb dogs, not able to bark,* for they have a bone in their mouth.

Secondly: *A*uthority in instruction. This is stated plainly in the last chapter of Mark (16:15). *Go ye into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature.* Now it is said in *De Officiis Ordi* (Canon Law): *Among all the means which contribute to the salvation of Christian people, the bread of the word of God is recognized as the most necessary of all.* The soul is nourished by spiritual food as the body by material, for *Not in bread alone doth man live; but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God* (Matt. 4:4).

The preachers and priests today are successors to the office of the apostles, the proclaiming of the word of God. This is plain from the Canon Law. Therefore, as the Lord said to the apostles, *go . . . and preach;* so today it is said to you through Isaiah (40:9): *Get thee up upon a high mountain, thou that bringest good tidings to Zion* (D. *Jerusalem*); as though God said to him: "You who are commissioned to preach, go to the top of the mountain" — that is, to the city. *Speak to the cities of Judah: Behold the Lord God shall come with strength and His arm shall rule* (Isa. 40:9, 10).

If a Brother Minor (Franciscan) preaches, this is either by the favor of the prelate, or by especial authority and commission. May they discharge their office well! But I would rather inquire from Isaiah why the Lord says that preachers are to betake themselves to great cities rather than to small towns and villages. Isaiah and Jerome were sent to Jerusalem; Daniel to Babylon; Jonah to Nineveh, *a great city of three days' journey* (Jonah 3:3); Paul to Rome. John the Baptist was in the desert, but he was told to go to Jerusalem.

Does someone suggest that this is because the great doctors and learned men are in the large cities? And are there not, in large cities, great pecuniary rewards for which the preachers may strive? No! No! That is not the point. For if those who are in the cities did what they know ought to be done, they would not so often win renown.

This is the true reason: Because more sins are committed there. More wicked men live in large cities than in small villages. Where will you find great and monstrous sins except in cities? Where today are the devourers and torturers of the poor? Certainly there. Abductors and violaters of girls, flagrant adulterers, murderers, gormandizers, drunkards, and dissolute men? Certainly in cities. Where now are pomps and vanities? Surely in cities. Where today are the gamblers at cards and dice? Where are gross blasphemy, treachery, envy, slanderers, usurers, cheats, deceivers, and traders on credit? Where today is the dominion of all seven mortal sins? Where is the seat of their power, if not in the great cities? Over the cities Satyricus laments:

What in the future can be gained?
Desires will be the same,
But their achievement lame.
The pinnacle of shame
Is here and now by us attained.

And so I rest all on the words of Isaiah (1:21 ff.), spoken in amazement and grief and bitterness of heart: *How is the faithful city that was full of judgment become a harlot? Justice dwelt in it, but now murderers.* And he continues: *Thy wine is mingled with water. Thy princes are faithless, companions of thieves; they all love bribes, they run after rewards. They judge not the fatherless; and the widow's cause cometh not into them.*

Now to interpret this practically: — When the Lord first ordained, in cities, cathedral churches where He would be especially honored, and instituted, in the metropolitan cities, the seat of justice; He established the state officials. These men were to render due justice to every man, so that by them the people might be governed and protected in peace. This is clear from the Canon Law: *Laws are made in order that human wilfulness be controlled by fear of them; that innocence may be safe among the wicked; and that among the wicked themselves,* wilfulness, and *the ability to cause harm may be bridled by* the dread *of penalty.*

But now the lords of justice are like the cat who is set to guard the cheese to keep mice from eating it. But if the cat once puts its own teeth into the cheese, it will do more damage in one bite than the mice in twenty. So the officials of the king are appointed to protect the common people, the poor. Yet they do more harm to a poor man in the course of winning for him six votes in one lawsuit than all the taxes, all the fines, and all the soldiers and men-at-arms who can come upon him in a year.

What, I ask you, is the present state of the world? Hosea (cf. 4:1 ff.) gives the answer. There is no justice, there is no truth of God in the land, but cursing, etc. In the world, wisdom is no more found; there saintliness is lost; truth sleeps. The Grace of God is lacking in the great cities. There in broad day occur robberies, rape, murder. There are prostitution, fraud, scoffing and torture of the poor, open simony and usury. If one man were killed in a country district, everyone for four leagues around would shudder in his whole body at the awfulness of the crime. But in the city, when a good merchant or a court counselor is seen set upon by lewd fellows, or when they seize a modest and pretty girl by her hair and consign her to the brothel, or when a good man is killed in your own quarter; no attention is paid to it.

And why is this? Because justice is sleeping and there is no law of God in the land. Thus Isaiah (1:23), describing our judges who are today in our land, spoke as well and truly as if he were in this seat of truth where I am: *Thy princes are faithless, companions of thieves, they all love bribes.* For all covet wealth. O miserable judges, listen! Of what are you thinking? You are told in the Canon Law: *It is forbidden a judge to sell just judgment.* Still less may he sell unjust.

Human justice is perverted in four ways: by fear, by greed, by hatred, and by love. How serious it is to pervert justice either by hatred or friendship, or fear or bribe, or for any cause whatever, Augustine bears witness saying: *Whoever is influenced in judging either because of kinship or friendship, or racial hatred, or by personal enmities, perverts the judgment of Christ who is justice, and transforms the fruit of justice into the bitterness of condemnation.*

My people, it is written that St. John, the Baptist, an eminent example of a holy and austere life, was preaching in the desert and winning people to salvation. But after he heard of the sin and infamy of Herod, he immediately left the desert and betook himself to the city. And when he learned that the sin was known to all, filled with spiritual zeal, he said to Herod: *It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife* (Mark 6:18). O limb of Satan! O offshoot of hell! *It is not lawful. . . .*

Not so speak our judges today. They attack no vices. In fact, they grumble when preachers wish to blame such things. Therefore, it is not without reason that preachers are sent to the cities. The command is not irrelevant: *Speak to the cities of Judah* (Isa. 40:9); because monstrous sins have dominion there.

Thirdly: *A*usterity in condemnation. Wide is the difference between the voice of the preacher and the piping of the shepherd which serves only to make the goats leap. For when duty requires the preacher to attack sin with fervent heart, his voice is like the voice of a trumpet, sounding and striking the heart.

I . . . heard the voice of an eagle, like the voice of a trumpet in the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice: Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants, etc. (Rev. 8:13). St. John, carried away by the Spirit, said: *I . . . heard the voice of an eagle,* flying through the air, proclaiming the wrath of God, swift to descend upon us. Never did a horse hearing the voice of the trumpet tremble so violently under his knightly rider, as the people must tremble when they hear this terrible voice. Today let the preacher say:

Pursuers of carnal pleasures
Woe to you: Collectors of worldly treasures
Who regard not your own salvation.

The first curse is hurled against those who follow carnal pleasures. That is the first *Woe.* Christ confirmed it, saying: *Woe to you that are rich for you have your consolation* (Luke 6:24). The reason is, it shall turn to desolation. This becomes clear in the case of that rich man: *Thou didst receive good things in thy life-time* (16:25), and *Woe to you who laugh* (6:25).

O you unhappy men, who sleep on well-covered couches, wrapped in luxurious fabrics, desirous of taking your pleasures here in ease, in drunkenness, and in gluttony; yet you expect to gain Paradise by such kind of living! On your heads the curse will descend. How can that be? Hear what Isaiah (5:11) says: *Woe to you that rise up early in the morning to follow drunkenness, and to drink till evening, to be inflamed with wine.* Hear also Paul (Rom. 8:13): *If you live according to the flesh you shall die.*

My daughter, if you wish to escape the curse and the damnation of body and soul, beware of intoxication and drunkenness, for otherwise the curse pronounced on the wicked rich man will fall upon you. *If thou give to thy soul her lusts, she will make thee a joy to thy enemies* (Ecclus. 18:31).

The second *Woe* — to those who collect worldly treasure. The second *Woe* is against the accursed usurers who never cease their pursuit of gain. This curse Habakkuk has spoken (2:9): *Woe to him that gathereth together an evil covetousness to his house, that his nest may be on high.* And Isaiah (5:8): *Woe to you that join house to house and lay field to field, even to the end of the place: shall you alone dwell in the midst of the earth?* Also Habakkuk (2:6, 8): *Woe to him that heapeth together that which is not his own. . . . Because thou hast spoiled many nations, all that shall be left of the people shall spoil thee.* This is what is meant by the saying: *No third heir will enjoy ill-gotten gains.*

O you miserable usurers! By your usury you have destroyed the poor and driven them out naked into great misery. You men without pity and moderation! You are having your Paradise this year. For because you see that this year there is a great scarcity of grain, you are selling your stores to the poor for double what you paid. Your barns are full, and the people are tortured with hunger. What kind of mercy do you have? Surely there shall be done to you in another world what you have done to the poor. Therefore, take warning from the wicked rich man. *Judgment without mercy shall be given to him that hath not done mercy* (Jas. 2:13).

Listen, Gentlemen! When the wood-cutter is in the woods, at first he cuts the trees at the base, and afterwards the large boughs, and finally the small branches which he binds together. Like him are the prothonotaries who have dispensations for holding three — no, fifteen — benefices at once, and are guilty of simony and sacrilege. They do not hesitate to appropriate incompatible benefices; it is all the same to them. If a bishopric is vacant, a fat bundle of other benefices will be given in exchange for it. The accumulation begins with the archdeaconate, abbeys, two priories, three or four prebends. All these will be given in payment, though not the smallest office in the bundle is unnecessary or useless. What purpose then does the bundle serve? Surely to burn your souls in the fire of hell.

Do I not speak the truth? Today are not cardinalates fattened with bishoprics, and bishoprics with added abbeys and priories? Such are the ways and actions of all devils. Have not all of you read the legends of the Saints? Among these modern bishops have you found one Saint who held two bishoprics or two abbeys?

Thirdly: *Woe* to those who disregard their own salvation. *Woe to you, ungodly men, who have forsaken the house* (D. *law*) *of the most high God* (Ecclus. 41:11). *They are cursed who decline from Thy commandments* (Ps. 119:21; D. 118:21). O sinners, blinded by your sins! You know not the miserable state in which you are. If you die thus, you will be damned eternally. Lift up the eyes of your mind, I beg you, that you may know your miserable state. For if you wait until you are drawing your last breath upon your deathbed, I fear that God may then pronounce upon you a curse instead of a blessing — precisely because you desired to mock Him.

There follows in the Scripture (Isa. 58:1): *Show to my people their wicked doings and to the house of Jacob their sins.* But what is this *house of Jacob?* It is declared with certainty to be our Mother, the Holy Church, which is the house of God. Concerning it Isaiah (2:3) says: *Come and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob.*

It is said today that there are so many sins in the world — and not only among the laity. They are multiplying also in the Church. Therefore, the sinful ecclesiastics ought first to be rebuked, as the Lord says: *Go . . . through the city and strike . . . but upon whomsoever you shall see Thau* (ת), *kill him not. And begin ye at my* *sanctuary* (Ezek. 9:5, 6). For there is no one who is to be cleared of blame.

> But, Lord, who sendest me, saying to me, *Cry! What shall I cry* (Isa. 40:6)?
> To the just, glory.
> To penitent sinners, pardon.
> And to those persisting in evil, eternal damnation.

Apply all these words as they seem fitting to you. Amen.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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